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THE *Southwestern*
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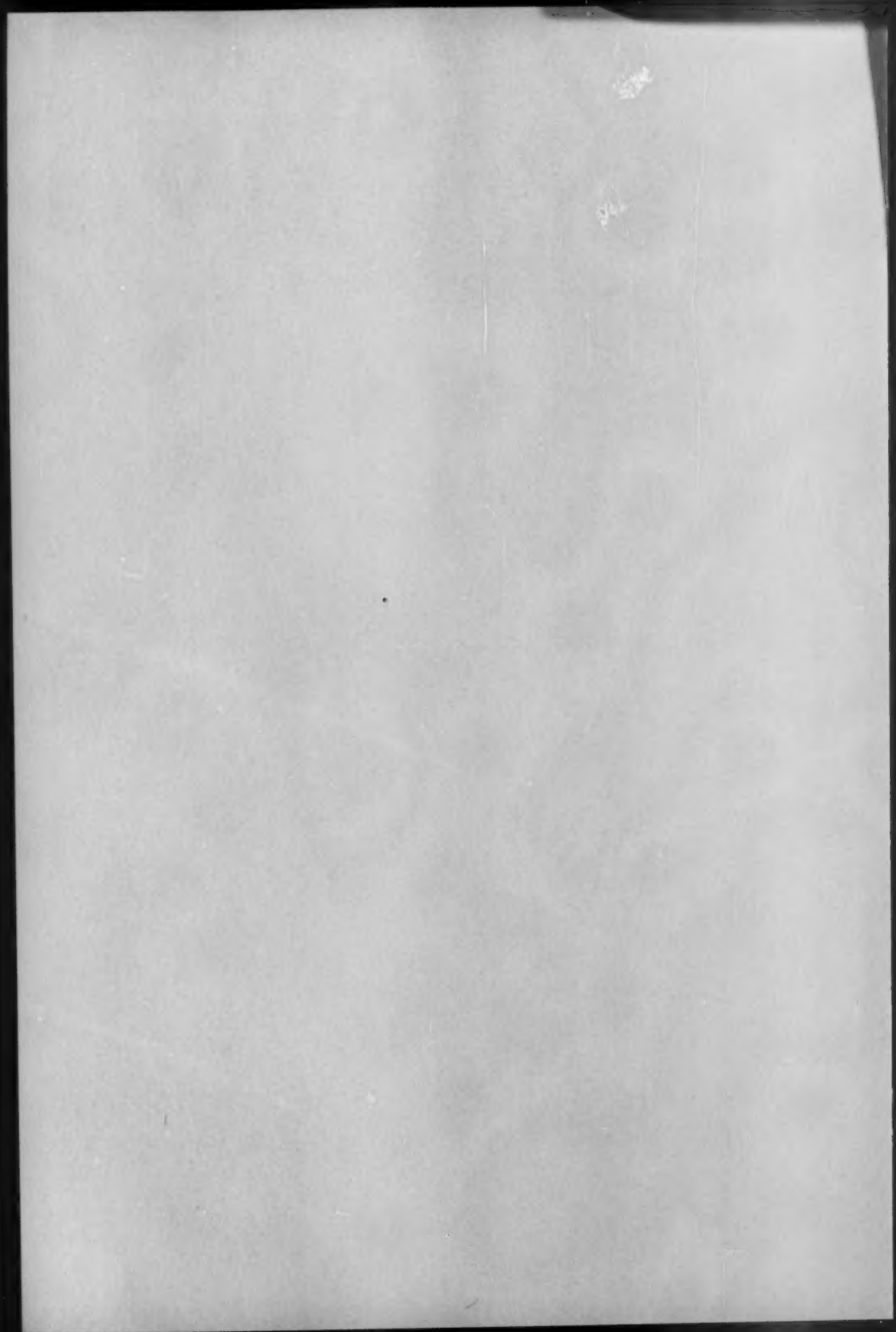
Two-Income Middle-class Urban Family Trends

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Does Stability Inevitably Mean Decline?

GEORGE W. WILSON
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

IN THE HISTORY OF IMPORTANT SOCIETIES or nations, the attainment of a condition of economic stability has typically been followed by decline or breakdown in at least the economic sphere and has frequently been accompanied at a more or less remote stage by political, social, cultural, and even moral decay. In other words, stability in the sense of cessation of economic expansion seems to have been one of the indispensable conditions of ultimate demise. Indeed, Toynbee construes the term "breakdown" (i.e., decline or decay) as meaning simply "the termination of the period of growth."¹ Toynbee's construction, however, is applied to all phases of society, in the sense of society as a sort of organism, whereas in this paper the generalization shall be taken to apply only to the economic area.

There are two important exceptions to this generalization which at least merit some mention. The first is the so-called "primitive" society—Toynbee's "arrested civilization"—which has experienced economic stability, nay, stagnation, yet has not exhibited decline. This may simply reflect the fact that its level of economic existence was, and is, so low that further decline would mean extinction. Nevertheless, it would appear that Esquimos, Polynesians, *et al.* could legitimately be considered as exceptions to the above generalization. We may, therefore, reformulate the proposition thus: no society that has attained a high level of economic development (relative to its historical environment) has been able to sustain this development without continued economic expansion, either geographical or technological.

When the generalization is phrased in this manner, a striking exception is immediately apparent: namely, the feudal society. There is no serious question that the manorial economic arrangements were the dominant forms of organization during much of the so-called Middle Ages. There is likewise little doubt that feudalism declined primarily *because* of economic progress, a statement quite the opposite of the above generalization. Given the importance of feudalism both during and after its "classic" period (from

¹ A. J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* (New York, Oxford University Press, Somervell abridgment, 1947), p. 273.

the tenth to the thirteenth centuries),² the feudal society is a far more serious exception than the arrested civilizations. But is it an exception? It seems apparent that feudal arrangements required stability to persist, that feudalism was a form of organization requiring at least a static economy. The entire social structure was contrived to preserve what was traditional. Thus in economic theory the just price was designed to pay the just wage to maintain the worker in the traditional station of life to which it had pleased God to call him. As a God-ordained order, the institutions were designed for preservation of the *status quo* rather than for progress and change. To paraphrase Edmund Burke, change in the Middle Ages (and there was plenty of it) was designed to conserve and maintain. In this sense, then, feudalism does not represent an exception to our generalization. As a social structure based upon a relatively static economy, feudalism was destroyed by rapid economic progress. Indeed, in its stated religious beliefs, economic progress was not even desired. Feudalism was antagonistic to, and indeed built to resist, change, particularly in the economic sphere. Hence with economic progress or change, decay or the breakdown of feudal institutions was inevitable. As Muller points out:

Medieval writers commonly divided society into those who work, those who guard and those who pray, omitting merchants and townsmen; but it was these men without status . . . who made over the whole society. They developed the money economy that undermined the feudal system, helping the peasants to emerge from serfdom and the kings to dominate the barons.³

Thus our generalization still holds without the serious exception of feudalism. That is, any society fundamentally designed to resist economic change, in the sense of increased productivity and output within a particular set of economic institutions rather than economic change via a sharp revolutionary alteration of institutions, will certainly not be maintained by economic progress. Few societies are so deliberately or even unconsciously arranged.

The major problem which this paper will attempt to analyze is this: Is there a necessary connection between economic stability and economic decay? The fact of past correlation is accepted.⁴ But the inevitability of it, the *a priori* necessary connection, merits further discussion, for if it is a necessary connection, the Western world is indeed faced with at least a serious problem. In the twentieth century the self-conscious quest for, and emphasis upon, security, the manifestation of the desire for stability, has become a firmly ingrained aspect of policy—security from external aggression, security from internal revolution, security from famine or the business cycle. All societies, of course, are concerned to a greater or lesser extent with these problems. Yet

² F. L. Ganshof, *Feudalism* (New York, Longmans, Green & Co., Inc., 1952), Chap. I.

³ H. J. Muller, *Uses of the Past* (New York, Mentor Books, 1954), p. 250.

⁴ See Muller, *op. cit.*, pp. 52, 55, 210.

when the dominant purpose or mood becomes "safety," "preservation," "security"—in a word, stability—rather than improvement or progress in both the economic and cultural areas, decline and ultimately stagnation may set in.

It is evident from the past that excessive concern for safety and preservation was quickly followed by a form of authoritarianism which tends toward a retarding of economic development. The Rome of Diocletian and Constantine attempted to restore order by reverting to "state socialism." Muller argues that "this was not a daring program of reform but a desperate effort to freeze the *status quo* . . . a reversion to a . . . primitive order, simple and fixed."⁵ Rostovtseff points out that even before the stifling impact of the "reforms" of Diocletian "economic development . . . was arrested by the exclusive attention paid by the rulers of the state to its safety and organization."⁶ One could also argue that the desire for stability, in the sense that it was a conscious drive for peace after the tenth century, so weakened the Byzantine military forces that the empire became an easy target.⁷ From these few examples, one can scarcely refrain from suggesting that preoccupation with stability on the part of our own society *may* lead us along the paths of Rome and Byzantium. The analogy between the totalitarianism in the later Roman Empire under stress and our society under stress is also obvious.

If, then, there is something inevitably connecting stability with decline and ultimately stagnation, the outcome of the current quest for stability, if successful, will be disastrous. The question is crucial. But if it is found that they are not necessarily connected, then the explanation for the decline or breakdown of several major societies in the past must be sought either in some other general failing within them or in purely local and contemporary conditions. In either case, however, the cessation of economic expansion may permit seeds of decay, already present but hitherto submerged, to manifest themselves. In this sense, stability *per se* would not be responsible for decline.

To test the ensuing analysis, Greece, Rome, and Byzantium will be used as examples of major societies that have undergone decline or breakdown, and to emphasize that we are not chasing a will o' the wisp, let it be pointed out that regardless of the reasons for the cessation of economic expansion, we are looking only at the phenomenon of such cessation. Obviously there are innumerable factors which could bring economic progress to a halt, any one of which could also lead to economic decline. What we are asking here is whether, given such cessation, regardless of cause, decay will necessarily

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

⁶ M. Rostovtseff, "The Decay of the Ancient World," *Economic History Review*, Vol. 2 (1929-30), I 207.

⁷ Peter Charanis, "Economic Factors in the Decline of the Byzantine Empire," *Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 13 (Fall, 1953), p. 417. Admittedly this was only one aspect or consequence of the failure of the emperors in their internal struggle with the aristocracy.

ensue. Or in classical economic terms, does a stationary state inevitably collapse?

We must first define terms. By "economic stability" is meant a condition in which the quality and quantity of the economic resources of a society, and the degree of the utilization of them, change imperceptibly or not at all over a substantial period of time, which may be called the economists' "long run." "Economic decay" or "breakdown" may be defined as "declining output per person, with possibly some unemployment of men and resources, which hastens the decline." This means basically a decline in the general standard of living, although certain classes may continue to consume the dwindling economic surplus at a rapid, perhaps even faster, rate, which also accelerates the breakdown. "Stagnation" may thus be defined as "a condition of stability persisting after the decline at a very much lower level of physical output than before it." In short, "decline" does not reach a state of zero production but rather tends to stop at a level below which the maintaining of life would be endangered. "Stagnation" refers to the long-run maintenance of this quasi-subsistence level of economic activity.

Given these conceptions of decline, stability, and stagnation, one is hard put to find an *a priori* necessary connection *provided* internal strife and external aggression are either nonexistent or relatively slight. In other words, in a peaceful milieu wherein unproductive consumption does not absorb so much of the economic surplus that social discontent and possibly revolt arise, there is no reason why a stationary state could not remain at a relatively high level. A further necessary condition, of course, is that the population remain constant—a condition implicit in the given definition of stability. Indeed, stationary population was an essential attribute of the classical stationary state.

However, it is precisely because these two provisos—internal and external quiescence—have not been present historically that stability has engendered stagnation and decline. Economic expansion (geographic and technological) has, in the past at least, been essential to offset and hide temporarily basic, contemporary economic contradictions or, what is the same thing, mistakes of policy (where doing nothing is a policy in this context). When the economic expansion ceases or slows down perceptibly, the economic errors or contradictions become more and more apparent and give rise to decay, at least in the economic realm. This contention clearly implies that in the past seeds of decay and ultimate stagnation were omnipresent, but that in the heyday of Greece, Rome, and Byzantium, the expansive forces were of such magnitude that there was net economic advance. Stagnation therefore occurred when the power of the forces making for contraction exceeded that of the forces making for expansion. Typically this occurred by a slowing down

or the cessation of expansion; therefore the forces of contraction appear passive. It is in this sense that stability appears to engender breakdown.

There is one exception. To any society threatened by external aggression, it is necessary to expand geographically and/or technologically if only to deter any potential aggressor. As the Roman Empire discovered, its susceptibility to invasion was in direct proportion to the degree with which its military and economic power waned. Toynbee goes even further than this, generalizing that "when a frontier between a more highly and a less highly civilized society ceases to advance [stabilizes] the balance does not settle down to a stable equilibrium but inclines, with the passage of time, in the more backward society's favor."⁸ One is constrained to ask why this need be so; Toynbee pursues this point no further. At least it may be stated with some degree of assurance that where there is hostility in international affairs, economic expansion may be essential, else the potential aggressor or aggressors attain such relative strength that invasion and subjugation quickly follow. This is basically a form of economic and military rivalry, which is not without its dangers to the domestic economies of all rivals. Expansion may thus be a necessary factor of survival in a militant, competitive environment.

I have characterized the forces making for decline or contraction as basically economic errors. It will be instructive to examine some of these errors that aided the decline of Greece, Rome, and Byzantium once economic expansion ceased.

The most obvious error of the ancient civilizations was engaging in recurrent warfare. The adjective "recurrent" is necessary, for within limits war may be of great economic importance to the victor's society. So long as the economic and social value of the present and future plunder and tribute exceeds the economic and social costs of waging the war and maintaining forces of occupation, the conquering society will be advantaged. Furthermore, conquest may tend to open up new markets for domestic produce, thereby stimulating prices and production. It may also lead to a period and geographical area of peace and quiet wherein trade can flourish (e.g., Pax Romana), and may lead to such fortunate incidents as Alexander's unleashing of the specie hoards of the east to foster and stimulate Grecian and later Roman commerce. Finally, war may be a politically feasible way to eliminate an excess of population and/or acquire new areas for settlement.

These salutary economic aspects of war are, however, short run. Accompanying war and outlasting the final battle is the necessity to maintain a large standing army and an army of occupation in all territories conquered. So long as the armies of occupation are able to subsist from the economic surplus of the vanquished there need be little problem, but the possibility of

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 10.

this in an era of decadent or nonprogressive technology is slight. Thus, the more one conquers, the greater is the necessary enlargement of the body of unproductive military consumers.⁹ In the short run, the plunder and tribute of war may so bolster the domestic economic surplus that on balance the level of domestic consumption will be higher than previously. In the longer run, as the potential plunder and tribute dwindles and unproductive consumption rises, strains on the domestic economy, through the "wastage" of the economic surplus, become more and more serious. In the final analysis the diminishing returns from plunder are overbalanced by the increasing costs of war, and economic declines sets in unless technology changes and improves. This seems to have been precisely the plight of Rome: a stagnant technology, unable to support an ever increasing body of unproductive consumers.

Hammond¹⁰ argues that the Roman Empire began in a state of technological stagnation. This meant that "growth was possible only through geographic expansion. . . . Once the limits were reached and the economic possibilities of exploitation under existing techniques more or less fully attained . . . economic stagnation was inevitable."¹¹ This "stagnation," or in my terminology, stability at a high level, may degenerate into decline if the society has to support either greater population or greater numbers of unproductive consumers. In other words, the unchanging economic situation *could have persisted* at a high level, given appropriate economic policies. However, non-economic military considerations and pressures compelled the central administration to maintain forces beyond what the limited potentialities of a static economic system could bear. It is in this sense that economic error was a cause of decline which became manifest only when expansion ceased. Childe points out that "while the economic system was expanding it could easily stand the strain."¹² Muller argues that "while the empire was expanding, its prosperity was fed by plundered wealth and by new markets in the semi-barbaric provinces. When the empire ceased to expand, however, economic progress soon ceased . . . [resulting in] a slow decline."¹³ For Rome, then, continuous and recurrent warfare was an economy blunder, regardless of any other justification for it.

A second source of economic error, and one closely tied up with war, was the large body of nonmilitary unproductive consumers. In Egypt, Rome,

⁹ By "unproductive" is meant nonphysically productive in the sense suggested by Adam Smith.

¹⁰ "Economic Stagnation in the Early Roman Empire," *Tasks of Economic History* (Supplement VI, 1946), pp. 63-90. See also Muller, *op. cit.*, p. 211 for an outline of Rome's technological "backwardness" and Heaton, *Economic History of Europe* (rev. ed., 1948), p. 55.

¹¹ Hammond, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

¹² V. G. Childe, *What Happened in History* (Pelican Books, London, 1948), p. 276.

¹³ Muller, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

Greece, and Byzantium there was a large element of social stratification, with the most opulent classes engaged in an almost frenzied attempt to absorb and transform the economic surplus into unproductive pyramids, sumptuous residences, ornate cathedrals, and "circuses," while the least opulent "freemen" and the slaves were often fortunate to maintain a spark of existence. It is undoubtedly true that a leisure class (in the Veblenian sense), a nonphysically productive class, freed from the necessity of menial pursuits, is essential to cultural achievement. Yet economic reality imposes a limit to the resources which can be devoted to man's vanity (culture) and still provide adequate quantities of the basic stuff of mere existence—food, clothing, and shelter. It is evident that the societies mentioned above had a superabundant share of a nonmilitary leisure class and this, coupled with the military economic parasites, led to economic decay once the geographic expansion ceased or slowed down.¹⁴

Out of the second economic contradiction arises a third as both cause and effect of the large amount of unproductive consumption, namely, the extreme inequality in the distribution of income. The major economic consequence of such an inequitable income distribution was that the demand for the products of industry became limited. As Rostovtseff has pointed out:

The advance made in the Greek and Hellenistic periods in the sphere of industry was due to a constant increase in the demand for goods. After 125 [A.D.] the market for industry was limited to the city and country districts of the empire. The future of industry depended upon their purchasing power. And while the buying capacity of the city bourgeoisie was large their numbers were limited, and the city proletariat grew steadily poorer. The material welfare of the country improved very slowly if at all.¹⁵

The way out of this dilemma would have been, of course, a greater exploitation of the internal market after geographic expansion ceased. But this would have required a drastic change in all social relationships. Again, it is evident that the cessation of the demand for nonluxury goods coincided with a cessa-

¹⁴ The revival of Byzantium after the seventh century may seem to be an exception. However, just as progress is not a smooth line, neither is decline. It must also be pointed out that we are not assuming a vigorous economic determinism, so economic decay need not cause decay in other aspects of society, and, theories of economic history notwithstanding, there are such things as accidents. The re-emergence of Byzantium by the end of the tenth century to its position as the "most powerful state throughout the Christian-Moslem world" (Charanis, *op. cit.*, p. 414) can be regarded either as a triumph of enlightened despotism in introducing the theme system with its system of military estates, or as a chance, temporary demise of the military powers of surrounding states combined with the economic decline of the large estates and the concurrent revival of a free, independent peasantry which somehow became the backbone of a strong Byzantine military force. Muller (*op. cit.*, Chap. 1) throws up his hands at any unique explanation of either Byzantium's long life or ultimate decline.

¹⁵ Cited in Childe, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

tion in geographic expansion, and after this point there was little incentive or need to expand industry. The stabilizing of the frontier thereupon allowed the economic contradictions unimpeded play.

Moreover, slavery and an impoverished working class are scarcely conducive to industrial improvements and efficiency and this, coupled with the growth of absentee owners (virtually guaranteeing the fruits of slave labor without the need for exercising any degree of managerial or technological skill) does not augur well for agricultural or industrial progress. Muller argues that the lack of interest and ability engendered by the inequalities meant the failure of the Romans to "invent the simple valve that would have revolutionized the iron industry. . . . Entrepreneurs had little incentive to expand, since the market was sharply limited by the poverty of the great masses of consumers."¹⁶

Finally, such a condition is conducive to internal class conflict, a condition that further tends toward a wastage of the economic surplus and enhances economic decline. Thus a vicious circle is begun once decay sets in—the greater the need for, say, military forces to maintain the extent of geographic advance, the greater the need of the central administration for revenue. This gives rise to higher taxes, tolls, and tribute, reducing entrepreneurial incentive (assuming any in the first place) and widening the gulf between Dives and Lazarus, thereby blunting worker efficiency and effort. This, in turn, reduces the economic surplus even further and leads to more social discontent. And so it goes. When neighboring hostile nations take advantage of the economic malaise and attack, it requires more military preparation, and the cycle recommences at a lower level of economic activity.

Another aspect of economic error, one applying chiefly to Rome, was the substantial importation of grain, mainly from Egypt and Sicily. Now imports are desirable only if the resources tied up in the domestic industries destroyed by the imports have opportunities for useful employment in other fields. The importation of grain into Rome, or its appropriation as tribute,¹⁷ depressed domestic prices and made small-scale farming unprofitable. The consequence was a stimulus to develop the large landed estates. With the prevalence of cheap slave labor the small-scale farmers were forced into the towns or required to "turn to the production of crops or animals which required more capital or labor . . . [ultimately] the large owner and operator occupied more of the countryside than he had done in simpler centuries, and the opportunities for small-scale enterprise were poor enough to drive many men from the land to the colonies or into the towns."¹⁸ But in the

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 213.

¹⁷ Heaton (*op. cit.*, p. 44) states that "after the First Punic War Sicilian tribute brought about a million bushels of wheat yearly to Rome."

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 45. The treatment of slaves often led to minor slave revolts which added, at least slightly, to existing internal disorder.

towns the newcomers found few opportunities, partly because of the vigorous foreign competition in the luxury-goods field and the existence of the necessary trades. Thus, the development of monopoly and the increase in foreign competition, combined with a stagnant technology and lack of war (after the establishment of imperial rule), led to a dearth of alternative economic opportunity and consequently to a redundant labor force—idle, indolent, and to a large extent frustrated. This augmented the already-large body of unproductive consumers which absorbed more and more of the economic surplus.¹⁹

Thus, as in Byzantium, the development of large estates (monopolistic elements in agriculture) coincided with economic decline, but the reason for their coinciding is not inherent in large-scale farming. It is, instead, that given an economy predominantly based upon agriculture, with a static technology limiting alternative opportunities, the development of large estates, which did not improve productivity to any large extent, if at all, created a redundant labor supply and reduced incentives to efficiency and improvement. In such a situation, large estates are essentially conservative or preservative. In Rome, given the surrounding unsettled conditions, self-preservation dictated that the landowners follow a course that basically involved their reverting to "neolithic self-sufficiency."²⁰ When prosperity ceased, only the great landowners escaped and they did this in effect by changing their social arrangements. "The control of local life passed into the hands of the landlord. . . . His estate became a self-sufficing economic and administrative unit. . . . The threads which bound it to the outside business and political world became frayed and broken."²¹

The economic error involved in the immediately preceding discussion is the curtailment of opportunity or incentive for productive effort. This in general results from a more rapid curbing of entry into existing fields than newly developed fields can offset, that is, a creation of monopolistic elements which limit freedom of entry to a greater extent than new opportunities open or create alternative productive outlets. To this must be added the further proposition that economic decline will occur only if the increased productivity engendered by the monopoly elements, if any, is not sufficient to sustain the human resources released and unable to enter alternative fields. This would appear to be one facet explaining the economic decline of pre-existing societies and one which may be relevant today.

The final economic error to be discussed here is the disdain for industry and trade. To the extent that society is based upon an economic foundation,

¹⁹ Heaton claims that as early as 57 B.C., grain was given free and 300,000 people were receiving free bread and circuses.—*Ibid.*, p. 47.

²⁰ Childe, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

²¹ Heaton, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

scorn of purely economic, material matters is hardly conducive to social advancement. Certainly it augurs ill for economic progress. On the other hand, overemphasis of material affairs leads to a shallow culture. What seems to be required is to acknowledge the necessity for, and desirability of, an improving industrial technique without eulogizing the process. Today we overemphasize industry and trade. But however much we may reasonably criticize this overemphasis, we may also criticize, as economic error, the underemphasis, the "pure speculation" of Greece and Rome and especially Byzantium, which prevented the application of mechanical innovations and led in Egypt and Byzantium to contemplation, not of the here and now but of the cosmos, the hereafter. In Greece this turned to political speculation²² and in Rome to political and legal application. All these are desirable, but if the Greeks, for example, had really believed their theory of the middle way, they would have placed due emphasis on technological improvements and strictly economic matters.

It seems evident that greater encouragement and social acceptance of industry and trade would have permitted economic progress to continue and so overcome, perhaps, the other economic contradictions previously indicated. Certainly in basic intelligence contemporary man exhibits little if any superiority over his predecessors. Thus it is probable, for example, that Rome *could* have invented the "simple valve" had it felt any particular urge to improve technology. Hence the lack of technological improvement must be attributed largely to her lack of concern for, or interest in, economic matters.

A General Theory of Social Change

From the foregoing assessment of the relationship between stability and decline we may formulate a more general interpretation of social change. The basic connection found between stability, as defined above, and decline is economic error. Essentially this means that an excessive amount of the resources of any society enters into unproductive consumption—chiefly war and ostentation, the most conspicuous destroyers of the economic surplus. Frequently a dominant minority has been responsible for the greater part of such consumption. The economic surplus is not widely enough distributed, thereby giving rise to internal dissatisfaction on the part of the "havenots" and to failure to widen the scope of the internal market, which may become necessary in the event of a cessation or sharp curtailment of technological or geographical expansion. With such a maldistribution of national income, the dominant minority attempts to freeze the *status quo* when threat-

²² A good presentation of this view with reference to Greece is given in Muller, *op. cit.*, p. 113-122.

ened (externally or internally) and in so doing tends toward authoritarianism, frequently resulting in more internal strife or a stifling of productive efficiency.

This means essentially that, for example, Rome's inability or unwillingness to alter its internal social institutions, coupled with an inability to expand the economic surplus (due in large measure to the deprecation of business pursuits), necessarily caused decline when external pressures increased.

The theory implicit in the foregoing suggests that we may interpret economic and social change in terms of (a) the magnitude of the economic surplus and (b) the use made of the surplus. This is much broader and less one-sided than the materialistic or economic interpretation of social change, for it does not specify precisely what factors determine either the magnitude or the disposition of the economic surplus, and it is evident that in both Greece and Rome, for example, noneconomic factors were dominant. Whether these noneconomic factors were products of man's consciousness or of the "mode of production" cannot be said with assurance. A more balanced view is that man both molds and is molded by the conditions of material existence. It is in this sense that the above generalization is less one-sided. In interpreting social change, therefore, an appraisal of those conditions or institutions affecting both the magnitude and the disposition of the economic surplus is required.

In applying this to contemporary Western society, we may note that many of the economic errors which hastened the downfall of Rome, Greece, and Byzantium are to a large degree absent today. That is, we possess a substantial economic surplus, income is more equitably distributed, economic efficiency and progress are something of a psychological fetish quite unlike the disdain of economic pursuits in earlier societies, and economists are prevalent. But in the post-Sputnik era more and more of the surplus will undoubtedly be diverted to military preparedness. Indeed, in Britain the burden of defense proved so onerous even in the pre-Sputnik era that it was largely responsible for Britain's military new look. Much of the impetus for a "United States of Europe" emanates from the desire to expand the economic surplus to permit the needed degree of military strength as well as to bolster living standards and reduce the degree of reliance upon the United States. The possibility of external aggression is therefore forcing more and more resources into the "unproductive" military channel. Only a vastly enlarged economic surplus could support such an effort. But if the increment in military expenditures exceeds for long the rate of growth of real GNP (as seems likely in the near future), the strain could become excessive and has already done so in several areas.

Add to this the other conspicuous destroyers of the economic surplus, such as the extensive degree of sales effort and the excessive product differentia-

tion, and it is evident that the fate of Rome is not irrelevant to contemporary society.

Space limitations preclude further discussion, but the foregoing illustrates the application of the more general theory of social change to contemporary society. The magnitude of the economic surplus and its ability to forestall economic collapse is, of course, relative to the degree of its unproductive use. While the former is considerably enhanced, so is the latter. History may not repeat itself but the possibility cannot be ignored. A period of economic stability in a hostile international environment could lead us along the familiar path of Rome. The problem of scarcity rather than the "curse of abundance" seems to have reappeared, albeit in a different form.

Louisiana State University Establishes New Orleans Branch

Louisiana State University is establishing a four-year branch in New Orleans on a 178-acre tract on the shores of Lake Pontchartrain. Scheduled to open September 5, 1958, the new college has been officially named Louisiana State University in New Orleans. Initially utilizing temporary buildings used by a Naval Air Station on this site, the college will move as rapidly as possible toward the construction of a permanent and complete campus.

L.S.U.N.O. is to begin in September with only the basic freshman program. Each year thereafter the next higher level of courses will be added until, at the beginning of the fourth year, the school will be a four-year, degree-granting institution.

Courses to be offered at the beginning by and large embrace a modified

arts-and-sciences program. Divisions of the social sciences, sciences, humanities, and commerce studies are being established, as are a curriculum in teacher training and two-year programs in engineering and geology. Students majoring in the latter two areas will transfer to other institutions after completing their sophomore years.

Applications indicate that around 1,200 freshmen will be enrolled this fall.

HOMER L. HITT, formerly associate dean of the Graduate School and head of the Departments of Sociology and Rural Sociology at L.S.U., was appointed dean of L.S.U.N.O., effective December 15, 1957. He will be responsible to the top administration of L.S.U. in the development and operation of L.S.U.N.O.

Policy-Makers and the Public

ELAINE O. McNEIL
FAYETTEVILLE, ARKANSAS

MOST AMERICANS believe in the "rule of the majority." In our society, public officials are expected to be responsible to the wishes of the people. Certain Southern politicians are today citing this rule in the denunciation of the Supreme Court decisions on racial desegregation, and it is becoming an article of political faith in the South that a change to desegregated schools is impossible without the prior approval of a majority of the public affected.

As political scientists know, the assertion that policy always *is* a reflection of the will of the majority needs some qualification.¹ Without going into the philosophical and psychological aspects of pure Jeffersonian theory, we need only recall some of the facts of political life: the pressure group, the party machine, the citizen of "influence." In the South, further qualification is necessary in view of the disfranchisement of a sizable proportion of the public.²

Indeed, sociologists might reverse the assumption that public opinion determines policy and practice thus: policy and practice tend to shape public opinion. More specifically, opinions in general reflect group norms. The need for group belongingness induces people to conform to the total situation and the group definitions. Thus we can *deduce* that the white public in the South will generally oppose desegregation because segregation is a norm of long standing, a part of the institutional arrangements, well buttressed by various emotionally based beliefs.³

But is a change in the opinion of the majority of the public necessary be-

NOTE.—This paper was presented before the 1958 annual convention of the Southwestern Social Science Association.

¹ For a discussion of the opinion-policy process from the point of view of current political theory, see Bernard Hennessy, "The Opinion-Policy Process in Democracy: A Critical Summary of Some Recent Literature," *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, Vol. 38, No. 4 (March, 1958), pp. 332-343.

² V. O. Key, Jr., *Southern Politics* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1949), pp. 531-675; Margaret Price, "The Negro Voter in the South" (Atlanta, Southern Regional Council, 1957).

³ See, for example, Percy Black and Ruth Davidson Atkins, "Conformity Versus Prejudice as Exemplified in White-Negro Relations in the South: Some Methodological Considerations," *Journal of Psychology*, Vol. 30 (1950), pp. 109-121; and Muzafer Sherif, "The Problem of Inconsistency in Intergroup Relations," *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (1949), pp. 32-37.

fore desegregation is possible? The first part of my thesis is that such a change is not necessary. The past fifteen years have provided abundant cases in which prior racial attitudes and "the will of the majority" were irrelevant to the process of successful desegregation.

The early study by Saenger and Gilbert showed no relationship between racial attitude and customer buying in department stores with integrated sales-personnel. Highly prejudiced persons accepted Negro clerks as a *fait accompli* at the same time they asserted their objection to patronizing a store with an integrated sales-force.⁴ Studies in housing⁵ and the armed services⁶ have proved that the behavior of whites in an integrated situation cannot be reliably predicted from the intensity of anti-Negro prejudices as measured by attitude polling. Intergroup-relations studies in twenty American communities have provided the evidence that within limits prejudiced persons will participate in an integrated situation if the patterns of integration are established and accepted as appropriate by other participants in the situation.⁷

A survey of racial policies in International Harvester plants concluded that there was no correlation between community patterns of race relationships and the employment policy in the plants.⁸ On the basis of their study of twenty-four recently integrated school systems, Williams and Ryan report that school desegregation has been carried out successfully in communities where the environment was otherwise segregated, and that school segregation persisted in other places where community attitudes were relatively favorable toward integration.⁹

In the published studies of the transition to desegregation in four Southern school systems—Louisville, Washington, St. Louis, and Baltimore—there is no indication that public opinion forced the change or that attitudes of whites were favorable to integration.¹⁰ In one of these cities, Louisville,

⁴Gerhart Saenger and Emily Gilbert, "Customer Reactions to the Integration of Negro Sales Personnel," *International Journal of Opinion and Attitude Research*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (Spring, 1950), pp. 57-76.

⁵Morton Deutsch and Mary Evans Collins, *Interracial Housing: A Psychological Evaluation of a Social Experiment* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1951).

⁶Samuel A. Stouffer *et al.*, *The American Soldier* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1949), Vol. 1, pp. 486-599.

⁷These studies, conducted by the Cornell Social Science Research Center, are oriented toward understanding the process of social change. Among the publications coming out of these studies is that of John P. Dean and Alex Rosen, *A Manual of Intergroup Relations* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1955). See pp. 58-59.

⁸Sara E. Southall, *Industry's Unfinished Business* (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1950), pp. 63-64.

⁹Robin M. Williams, Jr., and Margaret W. Ryan, *Schools in Transition* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1954), pp. 240-241.

¹⁰Omer Carmichael and Weldon James, *The Louisville Story* (New York, Simon and Schuster, 1957); Carl F. Hansen, "Miracle of Social Adjustment: Desegregation in the Washington, D.C., Schools" (New York, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Freedom

the Superintendent states: "Last fall I expressed publicly the opinion that had Louisvillians been polled beforehand, a majority would have voiced opposition in varying degrees to school desegregation."¹¹ Nor did the Baltimore School Board believe it had a mandate from the public to integrate schools immediately—which it did. The published report states on this subject: "Board members knew well enough, without being told, that desegregation plans would not be favored by some and possibly many Baltimoreans, but they could not see that keeping the issue open by deferring action until, say, a year hence would lessen anti-integration sentiments."¹²

In general, in the instances just cited, public opinion was not favorable to changed racial practices. There is always some degree of opposition to desegregation, in the North as in the South, for segregation has never been a Southern monopoly.

I wish now to complete the statement of my thesis: While the prior racial attitudes of the public are irrelevant to the success of desegregation, the actions of policy-makers are crucial. Their actions are the strategic key to the success or failure of the change to desegregation.

In support of my thesis, let me summarize the conditions associated with a successful introduction of desegregation in public settings: a clear and firm policy in favor of desegregation; a careful planning of the details of the process (this may or may not include the involvement of biracial groups in community leaders and law-enforcement agencies; and rapid and vigorous action by the police if resistance does occur.¹³ A minimal turmoil in early stages of desegregation results in maximum acceptance of desegregation.¹⁴

Even in situations in which an administrator or executive is not bound to comply with a law or a judicial decision, and can use no legal or economic pressures to require conformity, the firmness of the leader in changing policies to integration is decisive. For example, a survey of recently integrated YWCA's over the country showed that the most effective leaders in achieving integrated programs were those who met the opposition openly with "un-

Pamphlet Series, 1957); Bonita H. Valien, "The St. Louis Story: A Study of Desegregation" (New York, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Freedom Pamphlet Series, 1956); "Desegregation in the Baltimore Public Schools" (Maryland Commission on Interracial Problems and Relations and the Baltimore Commission on Human Relations, July, 1955).

¹¹ Carmichael and James, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

¹² "Desegregation in the Baltimore Public Schools," p. 10.

¹³ Southall, *op. cit.*; Williams and Ryan, *op. cit.*; James H. Tipton, *Community in Crisis: The Elimination of Segregation from a Public School System* (New York, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1953); cf. Kenneth B. Clark, "Desegregation: An Appraisal of the Evidence," *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (1953), p. 54.

¹⁴ Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, "Psychiatric Aspects of School Desegregation" (New York, May, 1957), p. 45.

derstanding, frankness, and courage." In such voluntary organizations, careful planning also is a key to successful desegregation.¹⁵

Conversely, here are the conditions associated with overt opposition or violent resistance to desegregation: reluctant, ambiguous, fluctuating, or piecemeal policies; ineffective police action; and a conflict between governmental authorities or officials.¹⁶ When confusion and overt violence are not adequately handled at the outset, there often appears a snowball effect of increased resistance and consolidation of the opposition. Such cumulative results of initial inadequacies have been observed in some housing riots in the North and in some school-desegregation cases in the South, such as the Lucy case at the University of Alabama, and currently in Little Rock.

Confusion and perplexity always accompany a threatened shakeup in established institutional patterns and group norms. In such periods of crisis, participants need a new definition of the situation and seek cues for appropriate behavior. There is a heightened receptivity to the influence of authorities. Thus the actions and words of leaders of power and prestige are of critical importance in the early stages of the desegregation process.¹⁷ Leaders can tip the scales in *either* direction.

When policy-makers, insisting that desegregation is impossible because public opinion opposes it, act as if they believe this is true, they tip the scales in the direction of continued opposition to the change. Here we see an example of the phenomenon that Robert K. Merton has called the "self-fulfilling prophecy."

For an instance in which a Southern policy-maker neither believed nor acted on the basis of this prophecy, I refer again to the testimony of the Superintendent of the Louisville schools:

... had Louisvillians been polled beforehand, a majority would have voiced opposition in varying degrees to school desegregation. ... During that two-year program [the communitywide preparation] there was obviously not much to be gained from any new poll of public opinion. Our course of compliance was set, and there was no polling.¹⁸

In this case, the policy-maker, though aware that public opinion was against desegregation, did not proceed as if he believed that because of this public opposition, no change was possible. He took positive action, and Louisville desegregated its public schools.

In initiating the desegregation process, the action of policy-makers is one

¹⁵ Dorthy Sabiston and Margaret Hiller, *Toward Better Race Relations* (New York, The Woman's Press, 1949).

¹⁶ Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 53. Evidence of the current importance of these factors in perpetuating segregation appears almost daily in the press.

¹⁷ Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-50.

¹⁸ Carmichael and James, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

of the critical factors. If the policy-makers are resolute (assuming the other strategic conditions), successful desegregation follows; if they are ambiguous, half-hearted, inconsistent, and wavering (and the other strategic conditions are present in the pattern of variables), successful resistance to desegregation is probable.¹⁹

This paper has not concerned itself with all the interlocking variables which today affect Negro-white relations, nor with the pressures, interests, or sanctions which might move policy-makers to the decision to desegregate. It has attempted only to summarize what the evidence of legal desegregation in various institutions and settings tells us about the relative strategic importance of public opinion and of policy-makers in the early stages of the desegregation process. The assumption sometimes advanced by policy-makers that unfavorable public opinion ties their hands is disproved by experience.

¹⁹ See, for example, the importance of the actions, over a period of time, of the policy-makers in school desegregation in Gary, Indiana. In this case, the school authorities were at first vacillating, unsure of themselves, and unsuccessful in achieving desegregation. Two years later, after a series of community crises, the authorities were ready with a firm, clear-cut plan, used proper police action promptly, and were successful.—Tipton, *op. cit.*

Farm Population Shows Drastic Decline

An estimated 815,000 persons migrated from Texas farms between 1950 and 1957, according to a study by R. L. SKRABANEK, of Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College, and GLADYS K. BOWLES, of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. About 314,000 moved to farms during the same period, but there was a net loss of farm population of more than half a million—almost half as many as are left on the farms and ranches of the state.

The trend in farm population has been steadily downward since the early 1930's, and has proceeded at a slightly

faster rate than the general nationwide decline. Rates of migration are particularly high for persons in their late teens and early twenties. Young women tend to leave in greater proportions and at earlier ages. The drought, mechanization and the combining of farms into larger units, and industrialization are seen as potent factors in this migration. Coupled with the expected rapid growth in the nonfarm population, the percentage of those living on farms and ranches is expected to grow smaller, this study concludes.

Workers' Control of Industry in Europe

FREDERIC MEYERS

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA (LOS ANGELES)

AMERICAN TRADE UNIONS are almost unique in the world labor movement in their willing acceptance of the basic capitalistic institutions of private property. The only modification they seek, if modification it is, is the right and power to make decisions concerning the terms of employment relationships through arms-length bargaining between businessmen free to offer more or less what they will, and unions whose power to enforce their will rests ultimately in a concerted withholding of labor.

Anticapitalism in European Unions

Virtually all foreign labor movements have a formal commitment, at least ideologically, to some kind of change in the forms of property holdings. They envisage basic changes that would alter the techniques by which decisions about employment relationships would be taken, and, more fundamentally, would shift the locus of control over *all* industrial decisions.

Some foreign labor movements seek economic organization along familiar orthodox socialist lines, with productive property held by the State. The State, in turn, would be controlled by representatives of the working class, and the terms of employment would be set by negotiation between particular bodies of workers and representatives of the general interest of workers. General industrial policies would be made through managerial forms designed and controlled by the socialist State.

Classical British guild socialism, the revisionism of Vandervelde in Belgium, and French anarcho-syndicalism would vest the property rights to productive enterprise in the continuing body of workers using the tools in each enterprise. These, rather than the State, would be the owners, and at the same time the employed; hence, no conflict and no negotiation would be necessary to divide the product of individual enterprises, though of course conflicts of interest might still remain between individuals and perhaps between enterprises.

The "Christian" labor movements of Europe, finding their ideological

inspiration in the social doctrines of the Catholic Church, and especially in the encyclicals *Quadragesimo anno* and *Rerum novarum*, though expressing a devotion to the institution of private property in general, seek significant alterations in the rights concomitant with ownership. Canon A. Brys, chaplain of the Christian Labor Movement of Belgium, describes the "Problem of Labor" in part in the following terms:

The grave problem of *the structural reform of the economic and social system*, which today fills the hearts of the workers with bitterness and revolt and which has been exposed by the Church itself as tainted with flagrant injustices.

An unrighteous and excessive distribution of riches which allows some men to live in superfluous and often provoking abundance, and leaves the great mass of workers in such penury that they cannot afford to live with their families in that state of *ease, security, dignity and freedom* to which every human being is entitled and which is indispensable to the material and spiritual development of themselves and their family.

The unfair state of things that compels the workers to *remain mere wage earners and strangers within the enterprise* to which they have given their whole life of labour, without having any right of speech, nor of co-responsibility nor of joint management.¹

Maurice Bouladoux, secretary-general of the French Federation of Christian Unions, has said: "... in all calmness we have condemned capitalism because it debases man to the level of a machine and makes him a servant, and often the victim, of money."²

The *Program* of the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions makes a clear and sharp distinction between private property in consumers' goods—which is to remain limited "only by the rights of fellow-men and the precepts of charity"—and property in capital goods—which *may* be limited by necessary but not general nationalization, or collective ownership, and *must* be subject to joint management of workers and employers.³

Even the German Christian Democratic Party, the party of Adenauer and Ludwig Erhard, in the period before the lessening of influence from its working-class left, adopted at Ahlen in 1947 a program containing the following:

The capitalistic economic system has not proved suitable to the political and social life interests of the German people. After the terrible political, economic and social collapse resulting from criminal power policies, only an organization new from the ground up can succeed.

¹ *The Principles and Organization of the Christian Labour Movement of Belgium* (Brussels, Mouvement Ouvrière Chrétienne, n.d. [mimeo]).

² Confédération Internationale des Syndicats Chrétien, *La C.I.S.C. d' Amsterdam a Lyon, 1946-1949* (Utrecht, C.I.S.C., 1949).

³ *Program of the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions* (Utrecht, n.d.).

The content and goal of the social and economic reorganization can no longer be capitalistic power and profit seeking, but only the welfare of our people.⁴

These several ideological streams converge in immediate demands for some form of industrial comanagement. For the "Christian" trade unionists, the appropriate form and extent of comanagement is an ultimate goal; for the socialists of various stripes and for the anarchosyndicalists, it is a way station on the road to full "workers' control."

Though the idea of workers' control—or its halfway step, comanagement—is a very old one, providing for some form of participation by the worker in management, apart from collective bargaining, is relatively new in the four countries here to be considered as examples—France, Belgium, Germany, and Britain and, for that matter, anywhere in Europe. This extension of the idea of control is not, however, limited to these four; it is to be found in virtually every Western European country. In Eastern Europe, the Yugoslavian workers' councils and their powers distinguish the Yugoslavian economy markedly from those of the other Communist countries.

The Works-Council Movement

Voluntary joint councils in France date back to 1885, but they were few and the movement did not spread quickly. In Belgium, the idea was discussed prominently after the First World War but did not take hold then. In Germany, legal provision for voluntary councils came with the *Arbeiterschutzesetz* of 1891. Later, a law of 1920 created certain compulsory councils, but with an extremely limited function. In Britain, the voluntary "joint consultative committees" became quite common after the appearance of the "Whitley Report" during the First World War, but the "Whitley Council" movement did not gain rapid ground until the Second World War.

But after the Second World War, the movement did spread very rapidly. The provisional government of General de Gaulle in France, perhaps to take the steam out of a spreading movement toward real comanagement, adopted an ordinance providing for compulsory establishment of works councils with limited powers in large enterprises. The 1945 law was amended in 1946⁵ to expand its scope and to strengthen the councils somewhat. In Belgium, an act of 1948 became effective in 1950,⁶ generally providing for the compulsory establishment of works councils in establishments employing fifty or more persons. In Britain, though no legal provision for compulsory comanagement in private industry appeared, voluntary "Whitley Councils" became more common after a postwar decline in the wartime

⁴ "Das Programm von Ahlen" (Christliche Demokratische Union, 1947).

⁵ Ordinance of 22 Feb. 1945; Law of May 16, 1946

⁶ Law of September 20, 1948.

Joint Production Committees; in the nationalized industries, the governing boards were either mandated or advised to establish joint consultation.

The movement proceeded much the furthest in Germany. There, in 1952, works councils with extensive powers were made compulsory in most industry.⁷ And in addition, equal worker participation on the boards of directors of coal and steel companies was provided in the *Mitbestimmungsrecht* of 1951.⁸

Since the German works-council movement has made the most headway, perhaps it would be well to start with a brief description of it. The scope of the law is most extensive. It applies to all industrial enterprises employing as many as five employees eligible to vote for works councilors, and to all agricultural and forestry enterprises employing ten. The works councilors are elected by the employees, with discrete representation for manual and for white-collar workers. Under German law, any employee may be nominated or elected, but in plants where unions are active, they ordinarily present slates, and the vast majority of works councilors have been elected from union slates. It should be noted that the organizing of white-collar workers has proceeded much further in Germany, and in fact throughout the Continent, than in the United States.

The functions of the council are categorized into four general types: general, social, personal, and economic. General functions include, particularly, the receiving of financial, production, technical, and other information about the enterprise, the giving of which is compulsory. On the basis of this information, the council may propose general measures in the interest of the enterprise and its personnel, but these proposals are largely advisory.

The social, personal, and economic functions are those in which the council has real power. In these areas, its powers are "codeterminative" rather than merely "co-operative." Social functions include the management of all welfare programs of the enterprise, carrying on trade instruction, determining vacation schedules, the time and place of wage payment, etc. Personal functions include recruitment, job assignment, transfer and discharge. Economic functions include such things as manufacturing and work methods, production programming, alterations in plant layout, and the introduction of new techniques. In certain of these matters, statutory criteria are laid down for the making of these decisions by council and employer.

The works council is conceived of legally as a body co-operative with the employer; yet understandings with the employer are reduced to writing in the form of a quasi-contract or plant agreement, enforceable in the labor courts. The "plant agreement" (*Betriebsvereinbarung*) is to be distinguished from the collective agreement (*Tarifvertrag*) in that the parties to the for-

⁷ "Betriebsverfassungsgesetz," *Bundes Gesetzblatt*, Teil I, No. 43, pp. 681-695.

⁸ Law of May 21, 1951.

mer are the works council and the employer, whereas the parties to the latter are the union and the employer or employer federation. The plant agreement *may* deal with matters normally the subject of collective bargaining, yet it may also go well beyond the ordinary scope of collective agreements reached at arm's length, and with the possible use of coercive measures.

Collective agreements are normally concluded in Germany between regional or national associations of employers and national unions. The law is that provisions of the collective agreements supersede those of plant agreements. Yet the curious blend of the concept of bargaining and the concept of co-operation is illustrated by the fact that the works council normally is the grievance processing mechanism through which the collective agreement is enforced.

In addition to the works council, worker participation in management is carried into the internal management of the German corporation. Under the general law of 1952, employees directly elect one-third of the members of the boards of directors of German corporations except the mining and steel companies. Two of these must be employees of the company in question, but the others, if any, may be trade-union functionaries with no present or prior connection with it. Workers thus have at least a nominal voice in the top executive power. But since employee representation is a minority one, and further, since effective management is carried on not by the board of directors but by an executive committee of full-time executives, employee representation probably means at present only that employees may have access to information and may check, by threat of publicity or legal action, extreme abuses of power.

In the coal and steel industry, employee representation in top management is carried further. Employees designate a number of directors equal to those designated by stockholders, with a neutral chairman chosen by joint agreement. In addition, the labor director, who is a member of the executive committee that wields effective power, cannot be designated without the assent of the directors representing the employees.

In Belgium, the works council is elected, in government-conducted elections, solely from slates presented by the unions. Since there are dual unions in Belgium, there is real competition for representation, but no councilor may be elected except from a slate presented by some union. In this respect, the works councils in Belgium are legally tied more closely to the labor movement than are those in Germany. However, the works council functions for the enterprise, and the councilor is legally representative of the body of employees in the plant, rather than a representative of his union, when he acts in the capacity of works councilor. However, he has a second function; he is also the grievance representative of the workers in the plant for enforcing the terms of the collective agreement. In this respect, there is again

a curious admixture of the concepts of conflict and co-operation, with the grievance process being grounded in the notion of the advocacy of diverse interest, and the works-councilor function being grounded in a concept of mutuality.

The functions assigned to the Belgian works councils are, by law, severely limited. In only two areas do the councils have determinative functions: the unimportant one of determining vacation schedules, and the somewhat more important one of managing the social-welfare programs of the enterprise. The latter might include, as examples, canteens, recreation programs, and relief funds normally financed from fines levied as disciplinary measures. The employer is required to furnish the works councils with rather complete financial information, and that he does so is assured by the appointment of financial inspectors by the State. The council is empowered to give advice to the employer on a wide range of questions, and generally to watch over his observance of law and regulation in which the employees have an interest. But these functions are largely advisory. In both Germany and Belgium, the councils pre-empt certain areas of decision-making in behalf of employees, deal co-operatively with the employer, or advise him. The structure of these councils presumes a bilateral *co-operation*.

In France, the employer, under the law requiring the establishment of councils, is merely one of several interest groups integrally composing the council. By French law, works councils are composed of representatives elected from slates proposed by the unions of manual laborers, technicians, white-collar workers and supervisors, and by the employer or his designee. The employer representative, on questions concerning which the council has definitive power, has only one vote—equal to that of any other councilor.

As in Belgium, the French councils have the power to manage only the social-welfare functions of the enterprise. The employer must provide them with such financial information as is presented stockholders; they may send two delegates, without vote, to all meetings of boards of directors; and they may have a certified accountant examine the books. They may advise on the disposition of profits, and they are to be consulted on virtually all significant economic decisions, including price policies.

In Britain, the joint-council movement has been wholly voluntary, though in one nationalized industry the governing board has been mandated and in the others it has been recommended that they establish some form of joint consultation, legally distinguished from "conciliation," i.e., collective bargaining. Consequently, though the consultative movement is fairly widespread, its scope is less than that in the other three countries considered.

The British movement is still based primarily upon the recommendations of the Whitley Committee of 1917. Its philosophy made of the councils bipartite bodies, with worker representatives to be designated by the

unions where such existed. Their functions were to be wholly consultative, and their scope limited to matters not the appropriate subjects of collective bargaining, where the latter was practiced. During the war, the consultative councils were primarily joint-production committees. Since the war, their activities have expanded to include various social functions, but in many industries they still include functions important with respect to production.

They are commonly consulted about introducing new techniques, layoffs necessitated by declining output, safety and health, etc. They also serve as a means of communicating suggestions from workers to management concerning production and efficiency.

Evaluation of the Movement

There are, of course, numbers of possible criteria upon which the success of works-council movement could be evaluated—some of them conflicting. There is little doubt that, in their own terms, they have not fulfilled expectations. In Belgium and France, their acceptance by the employer has been most extremely reluctant. In Belgium, employers have gone so far as either to eliminate social-welfare programs or to transfer them to autonomous corporations to avoid their management by works councils. In France, employers, with occasional exceptions, have with great energy and ingenuity resisted "encroachment" by councils on the management function. Lorwin reports that often the employer has kept the council "dangling on his generosity to bail it out of recurring deficits on the cafeteria, crèche, or vacation colony, so that it is most 'reasonable' about making any economic demands."⁹ Only in Germany, where the councils have well-defined functions and powers and where employers are probably more pragmatic in their attitudes than in France and Belgium, have the councils been much more than peripheral appendages to the managerial function. Even in Germany the accomplishments and form of the councils have been disappointing.¹⁰

Part of the difficulty stems from the attempt to admix the philosophies of conflict and co-operation, a paradox which seeps out into the formal structure and function and underlies the whole problem. The question has been posed for both French and Belgium councils: are they duel or dialogue?¹¹

In terms of the objectives of the labor movements, the achievements of the councils have been most fractional, whether viewed from the co-oper-

⁹ Val R. Lorwin, *The French Labor Movement* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1945), p. 266.

¹⁰ See Edwin F. Beal, "Origins of Codetermination," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (July, 1955), especially p. 497.

¹¹ Marcel David (ed.), *La Participation des Travailleurs à la Gestion des Entreprises Privées* (Paris, Dalloz, 1954).

ative philosophy of the "Christians," or the syndicalist philosophies and those of the socialists. Yet, for differing reasons, all the labor movements would oppose abolishing the councils; indeed, they support with great vigor an extension of the movement.

Roman Catholic criticism is directed primarily toward the restriction of function. Accepting the concept of the council as a co-operative body, Catholicism would make the council the basic managerial organization of the enterprise, to which would be entrusted the whole of the managerial function, either integrating employers into it, as in France, or making decisions jointly with employers, as in Belgium or Germany. To the Catholic labor movements, then, the works councils are a first step on the road to full comanagement; it remains only to expand their function and perfect the form. Catholics would also extend the council structure to the industry and the economy. Such a formal structure already exists in Belgium, but largely without function.

The socialists of varying stripes see the primary usefulness of the councils to be to train people from the working class in managerial skills and techniques. The present forms of the council are not regarded as particularly suitable for the functions they perform but valuable as training schools for working-class industrial managers. Thus, even the Communist-dominated C. G. T. in France expends a great deal of effort in electing works councilors and in training them in schools and through the publication of an excellent technical journal devoted to the problems of works councils. Ultimately, perhaps, they are regarded as a going managerial structure to whom enterprise management might be turned over. Undoubtedly many convinced socialists have learned a great deal about the intricacies of enterprise management through their participation in joint councils.

Despite these criticisms and disappointments, and despite the generally low scholarly assessments of the achievements of the movement thus far, it may have significant potentialities. Such movements, once begun, never return to their starting places. They have a way of developing and turning into problem-solving directions, carrying along both advocates and opponents into unforeseen institutional change.

Except in France, the labor movements in the countries with which we are concerned are both strong and politically effective. Even in France, though the labor movements are weak, no government can presently be formed without the consent of the Socialists, who, though they have no integral connection with any segment of the trade-union movement, listen programmatically to the trade-union federation, *Force-Ouvrière*. Also, it is probably true that no government can be formed without the consent of the M.R.P., whose left wing has its anchor in the "Christian" trade-union movement. It is probably true, therefore, that the works-council movement is not

likely to regress in the near future; it might conceivably make progress. It might be noted, incidentally, that trade-union participation in management has been applied to the nationalized industries in France, where union representatives as such sit on the managing boards, along with representatives of government, consumers, and persons chosen for their technical proficiency.

In Belgium, the Parti Social Chrétien and the Parti Socialist Belge divide almost equally about 90 per cent of the Parliamentary seats, with a classical "Liberal" Party holding the balance. While the Liberals are strongly opposed to any weakening of the authority of private management and have, so far, been able to make that their price for participation in a government, any lessening of tensions between the two major parties, particularly over the issue of the schools, could result in a government that might proceed to a strengthening of the function of the works councils, or to partial nationalizations, with governing boards resembling the French scheme for nationalized industries. If either major party gained an absolute majority it could also conceivably yield similar results.

In Germany, resistance to further extension of the principle of comanagement has hardened within C.D.U., the party of Adenauer. Nevertheless, the left wing of that party, with strong support from the Socialists, extended the principle of *Mitbestimmung* to holding companies in the iron and steel industry as late as 1956.¹² Backtracking seems highly unlikely, and with the emergence of a two-party system, as seems to have been the result of the 1957 elections, the United States pattern of both the right and left parties shifting toward center might well be repeated. If so, the extension of *Mitbestimmung*, which already has strong support within C.D.U., might well become the accommodation between the classical socialists, Christian Social Democrats, and political necessity.

Curiously, it is only in Britain, the ideological home of guild socialism, that there are but few political forces which might push the joint-consultation movement further. The Labour Party, in its nationalization programs after the war, deserted the old slogan of "worker control." The management of nationalized industries was entrusted to independent management boards, which, though they drew personnel from the labor movement, drew them as competent individuals who then severed their former connection, rather than as representatives of a movement or class. This managerial structure was devised with full support from the labor movement, which drew back from the divided responsibility that participation in management might have entailed. Only the Communists in the British labor movement are critical of the managerial structure of nationalized industry on the ground that workers are inadequately represented. If the Labor Party regains power, its nationalization program is likely to be very limited—there are strong

¹² *Bundesgesetzblatt*, Teil I, No. 38 (1956).

forces within the party opposing extensive nationalization—and the structures of newly nationalized industry seem likely to resemble those of the industries nationalized between 1945 and 1950.

Implications of the Movement

The movement toward greater participation of the worker in management, if furthered, would have significant implications. European capitalism has never closely resembled American capitalism, any more than European unionism has closely resembled American unionism or European democracy, our democracy. Rights of property in productive goods have, in Europe, carried a different connotation of control than in the United States, and have included the right to combination—antitrust legislation being regarded as an invasion of property rights. Decartelization of Germany failed, not only because it conflicted with German tradition but with British and French tradition as well. The British common-law doctrine of conspiracy, on which our antitrust laws are based, never played a significant role in British business law, either in the nineteenth century or after.

In the period of growth and the growing regulation of "big business," the important conflict of interest, in the American mind, was that between consumer and business, a conflict that could reasonably be resolved by protecting the forces of competition. Protection of the right to bargain collectively was subsequently integrated into this schema in that it opposes two powerful negotiants in the labor market. The resulting bargain might then approximate what would result if multitudinous weak negotiants met. These controls over the centers of economic power, together with general fiscal and monetary controls, are generally regarded as sufficient to protect the consumer interest and that of functional groups with conflicting claims on national income.

In Europe the conflict that submerged all others in the general consciousness was that of class. As suffrage was extended and workers became politically more effective, the concessions made in terms of economic policy took forms intended to moderate *this* conflict. The most notorious case, and one of the earliest, was that of the German social reforms of Bismarck. The hypothesis is here advanced that one of the modern expressions of this phenomenon is the trend toward the increased participation of the worker in management of private enterprises.

Historically speaking, unfettered private property as a basic social institution has had only momentary meaning. Western "capitalisms"—in which the exercise of control over "private" property by nonproperty-holding social groups, through state power, state-required recognition of nonpropertyed groups, or state-permitted group coercion—have departed far from an absolute conception of property.

Classical economics worked out with rigorous logic the kind of society likely to result when the center of economic decision-making lay with profit-seeking property-holders. It is even able to accommodate itself to a society in which group coercions are limited to face-to-face market activities. But the changes in the kinds of business decisions made when they are expressions of the interests of nonproperty-holding groups may be so fundamental as to require a quite different portraiture of society. The American form of collective bargaining may be a real and significant challenge to these "managerial prerogatives." But defenses to this kind of challenge in Europe may be outflanked by the workers' council movement. In Britain, the greater success of collective bargaining as a managerial technique may explain the relative weakness of joint consultation.

What difference does an extensive participation of the worker in management likely entail? Not an easily answered question. The answer depends in part on the structural forms of the participation, for these forms determine in some measure the constituency and the interest to whom the worker-manager is answerable. If he is effectively answerable to a constituency representing worker interest as a single social group, his managerial terms of reference are likely to be quite different from those resulting from his answerability to a single-plant constituency. Let us take an example. It is proposed in a present government project of law before the Belgian Parliament that the *Conseil National des Charbonnages*, a bipartite industry-wide body heretofore superior to the pit works-councils but without any significant function, be given certain powers to control pit closures, consolidations, and allocation of investment in the industry as between enterprises. Should these powers be granted, the results would be quite different from those that would come about if these functions were given to pit, business unit, or regional comanagerial bodies. The very proposal of the project presupposes results different from those in which private property-holders alone made these decisions. And decisions would be still different if power lay with the *Conseil National du Travail*, an established bipartite but largely functionless body.

Alternatively, if employees of a particular plant or enterprise exercise control through their power of removal or failure to renominate works councilors, the policies of those councilors are likely to be quite different from those in a situation where control over councilors is exercised by national unions or national federations of unions. Most forms of works councils recognize the discrete interest between white-collar and manual workers by providing separate representation.

For these reasons, among others, it is impossible to predict the way an economy in which managerial functions are shared by workers would operate. Whatever the structural forms of worker participation, the exercise

of the managerial function would follow different criteria and achieve different results from those in which property-holders are in sole control of the decision-making process. It is quite clear, in other words, that the resulting social form would differ both from its European antecedents and from a society of enforced competition or State-sponsored countervailing market power.

It may be said that too much has been made here of what is still a peripheral shift in managerial power. Many observers have argued that even in the German iron, steel, and coal industries—where comanagement has proceeded furthest—managerial behavior is not significantly different from what it was before 1933. In terms of price and output decisions, the evidence of different managerial criteria is not immediately apparent. But particular instances do exist. And it may take time for general changes to be worked. The established norms of business behavior are not easily and suddenly altered. The pre-existing ethic of business impinges on, and forces some conformity from, labor managers, as well as the reverse.

In terms of political activity, the story may be different. It is hard to see the Krupp enterprises, with trade-union appointed members of the board of directors, diverting corporate funds to wholly reactionary political movements. That is to say, the German government is probably freer now to pursue social reform, including extension of comanagement, than at any past time.

The works-council movement is still in its infancy, but its significance is better grasped in Europe than in the United States. European scholars have devoted much attention to the problem,¹³ while Americans, focusing attention on the one hand almost wholly on the spectacular German development in coal and steel, and, on the other hand, on the weaknesses in collective bargaining, may have missed the more pervasive aspects of what may become a broad social movement. It is a movement with most significant implications for a most significant variable in the course of economic development—control over the industrial decision-making process.

¹³ See particularly, David, *op cit.*, and the bibliography cited therein.

Economic Farm Adjustments in the Southwest

JOHN H. SOUTHERN

AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH SERVICE, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
AGRICULTURE

C. A. BONNEN *and* TYRUS TIMM

TEXAS AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE

SOUTHWESTERN¹ AGRICULTURE is conditioned by a wide range of climate and by extreme variations in weather from year to year and from area to area. Humid conditions prevail in the easternmost sections and, moving westward, the climate gradually becomes semiarid and arid. Within this broad expanse of humid, subhumid, semiarid, and almost arid conditions, prolonged periods of drouth occur and are to be expected, particularly toward the central and western extremes of the region. Like the climate, soils vary widely, with forested mountains and coastal plains, broad prairies, alluvial river deltas, shallow semidesert soils, and deep fertile soils of the high plains.

Commercial agriculture is dominated by these broad climatic and soil belts, and farm enterprises vary accordingly. These physical conditions, plus the economic hazards of changes in production costs and in farm prices, have combined to place the commercial agriculture of the Southwest in a relatively high-risk and uncertainty situation in relation to its national setting.

Basic Considerations and Adjustment Trends

Adjustments faced by commercial farmers in the Southwest are conditioned by several basic considerations, as well as by major trends which have been under way for at least two decades. The basic considerations are these:

- 1) There is a continuing drive by farmers for technological advances.
- 2) Almost all cost-reducing practices increase production per unit.

NOTE.—Opinions expressed in this article are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the position of their respective agencies.

¹ For the purposes of this paper the Southwest is assumed to include Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Louisiana. Adjacent areas have similar problems.

- 3) The demand for farm products is relatively inelastic.
- 4) An expanding general economy increases the cost of farm operation and at the same time provides opportunities for farm people to move from agriculture to nonagricultural occupations.

Major trends under way which influence future adjustments for commercial farmers include the following:

Increased dependence on the general economy.—Commercial agriculture has come to depend upon nonagricultural sources for more than 60 per cent of its supplies and services.² On the other hand, it is almost completely dependent upon the rest of the economy as a market for its product. Services and functions formerly performed on the farm have been and are being further transferred to the nonfarm segment of the economy.

Rapid adoption of new technology.—New levels of managerial skills have combined to bring new practices and techniques which are recommended for greater efficiency and which at the same time bring about greater production. Some of the more outstanding examples of the rapid adoption of new technology include hybrid corn and sorghums, high-analysis fertilizers, supplemental irrigation, early insect-control on cotton, complete mechanization of forage production and harvesting, and the mechanization and bulk handling of milk.

Larger and fewer farms.—The trend toward larger and fewer farms has been under way for a number of years. In Texas the total number of farms has decreased nearly one-third since 1940, a figure in line with the decrease of 31 per cent for the region.³ The number of commercial farms in the region dropped by nearly 20 per cent in the period from 1950 to 1954. With one exception, every class of the commercial-farming unit registered losses in number during this period; a slight increase occurred in the number of the largest operations, i.e., those with sales exceeding \$25,000.

Coupled with this trend toward fewer commercial farms is the correlative one toward larger farms. For example, between 1940 and 1954 the increase in the average size of Texas farms was from 320 to 498 acres and in Arkansas from 83 to 124 acres. The average size of commercial farms increased by 140 acres in Texas and by 63 acres in Arkansas. In the other states under consideration the increase in size has been in about the same proportion.

Larger capital requirements.—A rapid change in capital requirements has come about for commercial farmers. Such requirements have increased greatly both for land and for operations since 1950. Rising land values plus the larger size of the commercial-farm unit have increased the investment

² *Costs and Returns Situation Series*, Agricultural Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture.

³ Much of the basic data in this paper are from the U.S. Census of Agriculture. All data used hereinafter that are not specifically identified as to source should be assumed to be from this source.

for land by as much as 40 per cent since that year.⁴ Capital requirements for operating the farm have about doubled during this period.

Changes in types of farming.—Changes in the types of farming in the Southwest have been gradual over the past two decades. In most areas the tendency has been away from cotton and row-crop farming toward specialty crops and specialization in forage-livestock combinations, including dairying and poultry and egg production. Cotton has shifted from such areas as the hilly uplands of all states to the coast prairies and the Great Plains, in both irrigated and dry-land production. Cotton continues to hold its position in delta and bottomland agriculture. Some areas, such as the forested Coastal Plain of east Texas and south Arkansas, have become major producers of livestock.

Dairy and poultry production reflects some of the more drastic changes. In dairying, the supplemental type of enterprise featuring butterfat production has disappeared, and a large-scale, highly specialized enterprise featuring grade "A" milk production has taken its place. Since 1940 the amount of milk sold in Texas increased 38 per cent, whereas butterfat sales decreased 93 per cent. Changes in the poultry enterprise have been even more drastic. The trend has been toward the specialized production of eggs and broilers, with broiler production in Texas and Arkansas increasing from about 15 million in 1940 to about 200 million in 1957.

No radical changes have occurred in the types of farming; nor have any new cash-crop enterprises been introduced into the region. The use of irrigation and supplementary irrigation has expanded under the prolonged drouth conditions. In the main, the effects of irrigation have been to intensify existing enterprises. In most areas in which water supplies are limited, cotton has been favored in the allocation of the water. Considerable vegetable production has been introduced into the High Plains of Texas, where lettuce, onions, carrots, and Irish potatoes are now grown under irrigation. The planting of soybeans as a cash crop has increased in the delta areas of Arkansas and Louisiana. This crop has taken over a large proportion of the land formerly in cotton. Rice acreage has expanded significantly in the states that grow rice.

An increasing number of commercial farmers are taking advantage of the recreational use of certain facilities on their farms, though the total still is relatively small. Thousands of farmers have developed water-storage structures, but as yet only a few have realized income from their recreational possibilities.

Some adjustment in commercial timbered areas toward a multiple land-

⁴ Published and unpublished land-market research by the Texas Agricultural Experiment Station and the Agricultural Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture co-operating.

use system has occurred. Timber management and livestock grazing are being combined successfully by some commercial farmers who have adequate acreages of land adapted to timber. This adjustment, however, is taking place slowly.

Tenure trends.—The tenure pattern of commercial agriculture has changed decidedly since 1940. Owner-operators and part-owner-operators have strengthened their position, while many tenant farmers either have left the farm or have become owners or part-owners. In the Southwest, many types of commercial agriculture formerly were operated by tenants. Nearly all farming areas, particularly cotton areas, had a pattern of such tenure as late as 1940. However, tenancy no longer prevails, having been so reduced that no more than from 20 to 25 per cent of all operators in the region are tenants. Except in the Mississippi Delta, share-cropping has been nearly eliminated.

The family type of commercial farm, considering such a farm as dynamic, has not been replaced to any extent by large units in recent trends. On the other hand, many of the technological advances as well as the acquirement of managerial skills have strengthened and protected the family type of operation. This is an adjustment toward more efficient operation for those who have remained in agriculture.

Some types of commercial family units have been integrated with farm-supply firms or marketing firms. This is particularly true among broiler-producing units and to a lesser degree among vegetable farms. There is also indication that some cotton gins, in order to assure a minimum ginning volume, have integrated certain production and labor-management services into their operations. Such integration probably will continue.

Corporation farming, other than that of the land and cattle companies, has never been a feature of Southwestern agriculture, and trends do not indicate a change. The larger-than-family farms are found primarily in extensive holdings of the land and cattle company type. These are historical in origin and are not increasing in number or extent at present. Another larger-than-family farm—the old plantation holding—remains, but many are now operated with wage laborers rather than with croppers as formerly. There is some increase in absenteeism, this term being taken to mean that the operator and his family live away from the land. However, in most instances these families live in the nearest town or city and perform the usual managerial function from that point. Owing to capital needs and the nature of the enterprise, large corporate holdings appear to be on the increase in the commercial forested area. Commercial farm-forest units have been slow in developing in this region. Credit generally has not been available to assist in better management on the smaller holdings of commercial timber.

Land-market research since the Second World War shows there has been considerable purchasing of farm and ranch land by nonfarmers.⁶ However, the amount of land owned by farm operators has increased steadily in nearly all areas.

Alternative Adjustments Faced by Commercial Farmers

Adjustments being made by commercial farmers revolve primarily around two of the four basic considerations mentioned earlier in this report—the continuing adoption of technological practices for greater efficiency, and an expanding general economy that provides alternative employment opportunity on a full- or part-time basis.

ADJUSTMENTS WITHIN AGRICULTURE.—Within agriculture, the major alternatives in adjustment point in one direction only: toward increasing efficiency by the individual commercial farmer. Commercial farmers necessarily ignore the implications of the results of greater total production resulting from increased efficiency as well as the effect on prices of an inelastic demand for their product. Within agriculture the following are the principal needed adjustments:

Increased farm resources.—An over-all adjustment needed is an increase in resources by a large proportion of commercial farmers. The need for this adjustment overshadows any problem that may arise from the "larger-than-family" units, or from the "factories-in-the-field" type of production. There are far too many commercial farms of inadequate size. Production costs are high on these small farms, and low cost-price margins result in inadequate income for the farm family. With developing technology, such cost-price margins tend to narrow, resulting in even less income than formerly if resources are not adjusted to provide a greater volume of output per farm.

Many operators are faced with the necessity of increasing their land base to obtain adequate resources, while others can add to their resources primarily through the addition of capital. In the latter case such farms can be made adequate by capital intensive adjustments. However, the level of management becomes a crucial feature in such adjustment. The usual situation with most commercial farmers is the need to increase resources both through capital and through additions of land. Because of climatic and weather characteristics, expansion in farm resources in the Southwest means primarily an expansion in acreage.

Changes in types of farming.—The trend toward greater dependence on a forage-livestock system will continue but it needs accelerating. With the continued growth in population, some further expansion is needed in certain types of production, such as broilers and eggs, dairying, some fruits and vegetables, timber, and in livestock feeding. Commercial farmers currently

⁶ *Ibid.*

producing these commodities sometimes better their income situation by internal changes and capital additions. There should be less dependence on some of the cash crops—cotton, for example—if livestock-forage systems can be profitably substituted in the relatively inefficient areas of production. Certain important production areas have no alternative for a change in their type of farming. Here, adjustment opportunities must be limited to increasing acreage and to reorganizing for greater efficiency.

On many farms and ranches, certain facilities and resources lend themselves to recreational uses. Some operators are taking advantage of this source of income. For example, extensive areas are coming under lease for deer hunting, fishing, and duck hunting. Income from deer leases ranges from \$1.00 to \$1.50 per acre over thousands of square miles. Range-management programs need to be adjusted to treat this resource as a part of the range operations rather than as a by-product. Large water-storage structures on farms and ranches offer opportunities for additional income from fishing, boating, and camping privileges. The growth of population and more leisure are bringing increased opportunity for a recreational use of land. There is a need to recognize this opportunity and accelerate its development.

The production of timber is a broad adjustment toward a better utilization of land in the commercial forested areas. At present a number of commercial farmers are successfully combining livestock and timber production. The expansion of timber-using industries in the region, particularly pulp-using industries, offers the opportunity for many additional commercial farmers to do the same.

Technological practices.—Within some enterprises, revolutionary technological changes have occurred, for example, in broiler and egg production. The practices now used by the more efficient farmers need to be widely adopted. The use of fertilizers, pesticides, hybrid seeds, improved varieties, and other such practices must become an integral part of the systems of farming if maximum benefits are to be obtained. The development of practices that permit a more complete mechanization of the entire process of cotton production is one of the most pressing needs in Southwest agriculture.

Technological practices in irrigation are complex, both in economic and in physical terms. One of the crucial adjustments, certain to come in some irrigated areas, is that of making due allowance for a gradually decreasing water supply. Problems faced by farmers in these areas will be critical, and guiding policies and research will be greatly needed.

Integration and contractual arrangements.—Another needed adjustment within agriculture is for commercial operators to further integrate their production with farm-supply firms and marketing firms. The decision-making process in farming is characterized by increasing complexity, and many functions and part of the risks can be shifted to nonfarm institutions. In

certain kinds of production—broilers, for example—much of the technical management, financing, and marketing of the enterprise has been shifted from the farmer to suppliers and processors. Some operators, particularly vegetable producers, have the opportunity of shifting part of their production risks by contractual arrangements with jobbers or marketing firms. Also, additional capital may be obtained from these firms. Many commercial farmers producing vegetables, cantaloupes, melons, etc. do not possess the managerial skills necessary to market such products successfully.

Another enterprise where technical guidance and contractual arrangements between producers and marketing advising firms appear feasible is in timber production.⁶ Here the lack of managerial skills and knowledge on the part of farm-forestry operators may well be surmounted by some integration or long contractual arrangements with forestry-using industries. Failure to do this may mean that the most desirable timberlands will ultimately be held by the large "corporate" type of owner.

Except in the case of whole milk, marketing agreements have not been used by farmers in the Southwest. Such agreements may be feasible for other products, and commercial farmers, through group action, can make such adjustments.

The use of "custom operations" (the hiring of specific services) has expanded somewhat during the past ten years; hence more commercial farmers have the opportunity to avail themselves of this adjustment. They can reduce the heavy outlays for some equipment by having more of their operations done on a custom basis. Efficiency achieved in this manner is as important as that gained through adding resources, and this adjustment route may become desirable for more operators than are presently using it.

ADJUSTMENT TO NONAGRICULTURAL OPPORTUNITY.—A most important adjustment during the past two decades has been the movement of thousands of commercial farmers to off-farm employment. In large areas, up to two-thirds of the farm population have left agriculture or have accepted nonagricultural employment and continue to live in rural areas.⁷ This is one of the most promising adjustment alternatives for many who cannot obtain adequate farm resources.

In the drive for technological progress, many farmers will, for one reason or another, fail to keep pace with methods, managerial skills, and the combination of resources necessary for success. Also, owing to the recombination of resources required for adequate production units, a smaller number of

⁶ *Ownership of Land in the Commercial Timber Area of East Texas*, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, Texas Forest Service, and the Agricultural Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, co-operating (1956).

⁷ *Net Migration from the Rural-Farm Population, 1940-1950*, Agricultural Marketing Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Statistical Bulletin No. 176 (June, 1956).

commercial farms will be needed. Thus, many commercial farmers will seek and may find better opportunities in nonfarm employment.

To permit a continuing retreat of farmers from the farm to nonagricultural occupations requires that over-all business activity be maintained at a high level. Essentially, this means offering people productive opportunity in activities whose products are characterized by a demand more elastic than that of agricultural products.

A promising alternative is the combining of part-time commercial farming with off-farm employment. Some development of this nature has occurred since 1945. As industrialization progresses in the Southwest, this type of adjustment may become increasingly important. Highly efficient operations of a commercial nature, though not large-scale, may be pursued by many farm operators who take the opportunity for off-farm employment. In some areas, certain members of the family accept off-farm employment, thus obtaining the needed capital for farm adjustments.

Problems Concomitant to Adjustment

The problems to be solved in making necessary adjustments on commercial farms and ranches revolve around the trends and specific adjustments previously outlined. At least partial solutions to some of the problems are suggested below.

Increasing the size of business.—As indicated above, the major adjustment needed in agriculture is to substantially increase the size of business, or, in other words, to arrive at a better balance between the human and physical resources devoted to the production of agricultural products. To enlarge his farm business, one must purchase or rent more land or increase his use of capital by adding livestock, power, equipment, buildings, etc. In many cases both land and capital must be added. In any event, a number of problems emerge. The ownership pattern developed under systems of small-scale operation necessitates the purchase or lease of a number of small tracts to permit the development of an operating unit large enough to be efficient. In many cases contiguous tracts cannot be purchased or leased. This problem of ownership patterns is quite common in the lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas, in parts of the coast prairie, throughout the forested Coastal Plain of all states, and in most farming areas where small-scale or subsistence types of farming have prevailed in the past.

In adding land by purchase, the farmer is confronted with the rising prices of land and interest rates. He must compete not only with neighboring farmers who are trying to expand but also with the land-hungry individuals from the high-income groups in the professions and business. If he is in an area where mineral rights are involved, the land may be priced far above its value for agricultural purposes. In most cases he will not have accumulated

much of the necessary capital for the purchase of the land, for he has been operating a unit too small to have accumulated capital except at the expense of living standards.

Leasing may be the most practical way of obtaining control of additional land. However, the degree of control may be affected adversely by traditional leasing arrangements, including uncertainty of tenure. Thus, though some adjustments in the type of farming are desirable, they may not be possible. This is the case in areas like the Blackland prairie of Texas, in which the one-third and one-fourth cropshare lease still prevails despite a drastic reduction in cash-crop production. Another area in which the tenure pattern poses an adjustment problem is the coast prairie of Texas, where much of the land is devoted to the production of rice and cattle. The landowner usually leases rice land to the grower for cash or a share of the crop and retains the grazing rights for himself. A system of pasture improvement which increases rice yields when rotated has long been recommended for the area. However, the divided control of the land and the difference in interest in the products prevent adjustments which should prove mutually beneficial.

The addition of other forms of capital needed may be even more difficult and costly than adding land, since in most cases leasing is not feasible. For example, an additional investment of about \$20,000 is required to change from a cash-crop system to a 36-cow dairy operation on a 180-acre Blackland prairie farm.⁸ Although adjusting to beef production would require a much smaller investment in buildings and equipment, only the larger farms could develop an efficient beef-cattle enterprise without going into the land market. This adjustment can be simplified and made more feasible by purchasing steers annually instead of maintaining a breeding herd.

When custom operation is resorted to in order to keep down investment in farm equipment, the farmer surrenders some degree of control over his farm operations. He may not be able, for instance, to obtain the services of a custom combine-operator or an insect-control service at the optimum time. Thus he may suffer a loss in yield or in the quality of the product.

By resorting to vertical integration, some farmers avoid investing additional capital and shift certain management decisions and market risks to others. *At the same time they give up independence of action and in the long run may find themselves working for wages without opportunity for profit.*

Obtaining water for irrigation.—Since much of the Southwest is subject to light and variable rainfall and to frequent drouth, a major adjustment has been the widespread development of supplemental irrigation. The problems related to this adjustment differ with location, source of water, and the

⁸ *Financing the Dairy System on a Central Blackland Farm*, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 837 (September, 1956).

present stage of development. On the High Plains and in the Trans-Pecos area, where water supplies are obtained mainly from underground sources, there are few, if any, known supplies, of either ground or surface water, available for further development.⁹ Declining water levels indicate that the water resources from underground sources have been overutilized. The situation is much the same in the rice-growing areas of eastern Arkansas. Costs of irrigation on the High Plains of Texas have more than doubled over the five-year period 1949–1954.¹⁰ Because of receding water levels and declining well yields, it has become necessary to lower pumps and drill additional wells to provide adequate amounts of irrigation water. As the rate of recharge of these ground waters is insignificant compared to the current rate of pumping, it seems likely that many of the irrigated farms of this area eventually may be confronted with a difficult retreat to dry farming.

The area extending through central Texas and Oklahoma is short of water suitable for irrigation; consequently, there has been little development. The few geological formations capable of holding water are thin and limited in extent. Although there is no striking shortage of reservoir sites in this area, the infrequent occurrence of stream flow and the high rates of evaporation materially reduce the effectiveness of surface-water developments.

In the more humid eastern half of the Southwest, where the demand for water has greatly increased in recent years, reliance is being placed more and more on surface water. While plenty of water is available for future development, the problem is complicated by a scarcity of suitable reservoir sites, confused water-right situations, unresolved upstream-downstream controversies, inability to finance construction, and conflicts between increasing urban-industrial demands and agricultural use.

Obtaining credit.—Most commercial farmers can finance the minor adjustments they make, such as changing varieties or fertilizer practices. Successful farmers have little difficulty in financing major adjustments, such as installing irrigation systems or livestock enterprises; few, however, are able to do so without resorting to credit. Most credit institutions are reluctant to make loans for much more than one year for adjustments other than the purchase of land. There is need for amortized loans geared to the useful life of the added capital and to the additional earnings that can be expected. For example, a period of about six years is needed to repay, from increased earnings, the added capital required to shift from cash-crop farming to a

⁹ See various county reports on ground-water resources by the Texas Board of Water Engineers in co-operation with the U.S. Geological Survey.

¹⁰ *Changes in Investment and Irrigation Water Costs, Texas High Plains, 1950–54*, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 828 (March, 1956).

36-cow dairy operation on a 180-acre Blackland farm. Similarly, a period of from four to six years is needed to repay the added investment required to fit a steer-feeding enterprise into a Blackland farming system.¹¹

Lack of profitable alternatives.—Agricultural adjustments are hampered by a lack of profitable alternatives, especially in the subhumid portions of the region. On land physically limited to grazing, increasing the size of the farm and changes in the combination and quality of the livestock are generally the only adjustment opportunities feasible. In subhumid cropping areas, the few crops adapted may not be compatible, as is the case with wheat and grain sorghum on nonirrigated farms on the High Plains of Texas and Oklahoma. Land planted to sorghums cannot be returned to wheat the following year. Sorghum land must be planted to spring oats or barley, or fallowed the following year. As a consequence, wheat follows wheat and sorghum follows sorghum. Alternatives are more numerous in the humid sections, but a large increase in the size of most farms is necessary if efficient operation is to be developed.

Lack of managerial skills.—One of the main obstacles to adjustment is the lack of managerial skills essential to success with new enterprises and expanded operations. Farmers of the Southwest have consistently been cash-crop producers, and their chief interest usually has been in some one crop, such as cotton, rice, or wheat, from which they obtained the greater part of their income. This concentration on cash-crop production and their lack of interest and experience in other enterprises have produced a generation of farmers with little inclination to learn, for example, the complex of practice essential to success with livestock enterprises.

Age of farm operators.—A factor contributing to the difficulties of adjustment is the advanced age of so many operators. About 40 per cent of the commercial farmers are more than sixty years old, an age at which there is little incentive to learn and develop a profitable system of growing pine trees or an efficient beef or dairy enterprise.

Conflict between individual adjustments and over-all adjustment objectives.—One of the most important problems to be resolved, on the national as well as the regional level, is the conflict between the necessity for the individual operator to drive for efficiency through greater production as against the need to shift resources out of farming in order to reduce total production. Substituting capital for decreasing manpower in farming will continue to aggravate the problem. Somehow, more land resources must be shifted into extensive uses, such as timber and grazing.

Adjustment to nonfarm employment.—Although from 40 to 50 per cent of the farm population has migrated during the past fifteen years to non-

¹¹ *Financing a Beef Cattle Enterprise on Blackland Farms*, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin No. 862 (March, 1956).

agricultural occupations, little is known about the attendant problems of this migration. Opportunities to achieve higher incomes and to attain higher levels of living have been better outside of farming. Nearly all adjustments on commercial farms point to a continuing need for such off-farm employment.

Providing off-farm employment opportunities requires an expanding general economy—a requirement beyond the control of the agricultural industry. A much needed feature of an expanding economy is an information program to apprise farm families of available farm and nonfarm opportunities. Educational agencies should adjust their programs to meet this need.

Another problem raised by the movement into nonfarm occupations is that brought about by the selective migration, in which the aged and those ill-prepared for making adjustments remain on the land, while the better prepared and more productive age-groups are drawn from the farms.¹² Thus, in areas of heaviest out-migration, only a slow improvement in the use of resources can be expected.

Research and Education

To achieve these adjustments and solve related problems, a number of questions require answers. In many instances, the available information and research are not adequate to guide commercial farmers toward the apparently needed adjustments. The problems call for intensified research, to be followed by educational information. The present stream of technological research and information for commercial farmers must be maintained. To meet the needed adjustments, such technological research might place more emphasis on those enterprises of an extensive nature, such as range livestock and range management, timber management, and the establishment of grass and forage production. At the same time, an increased effort to answer certain other questions is necessary:

What are the costs and the time period involved in farm adjustments?

How is capital to be acquired for needed adjustments? What modifications in credit practices are necessary to meet problems of finance?

What are the minimum resource-needs of commercial farmers under various types of production?

How can land resources be recombined for larger units in areas of heavy out-migration of population?

What is involved in the process of shifting from farm to nonfarm employment (part-time or full-time)? How can this trend be accelerated? What are the important human problems in such shifts?

¹² Unpublished studies of low-income farm areas by the Texas Agricultural Experiment Station and the Agricultural Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture.

How can the effective demand for total agricultural output and the demand for specific farm commodities be more accurately appraised as a guide to needed adjustments?

Finally, if the surplus of human resources in agriculture is to be transferred effectively to nonagricultural employment and if total farm resources are adjusted to needs, there is the problem of an educational program which will make the farm population aware of the opportunities outside farming, prepare them to make the shift to the advantage of themselves and of the nation, and make the general public aware of the necessity for the individual operator (if he is to survive) to strive for greater production when the overall need is to adjust aggregate output to market demand.

Becker Heads American Sociological Society

Howard Becker, of the University of Wisconsin, has been elected president of the American Sociological Society for 1960, after serving a year as president-elect. Kingsley Davis, Univer-

sity of California, is to assume the presidency of the society at the annual meeting in Seattle, August 27-29, 1958.

Some Trends in Two-Income Middle-class Urban Families

EVERETT D. DYER

UNIVERSITY OF HOUSTON

THE SOCIOLOGICAL LITERATURE reveals a general consensus that the American family today is in the process of social change.¹ Burgess and Locke, to illustrate, maintain that a new "companionship" family type is emerging, in which many of the traditional family functions are no longer found and in which new role patterns are emerging that are, in effect, more flexible and democratic than those found in the earlier "institutional" family type.²

One aspect of this social change in the contemporary American family that has as yet received little attention from sociologists is the increasing tendency for the wife to be employed outside the home.³ The percentage of married women who are employed in America today is at an all-time high, and the trend is continuing. United States Census Bureau figures show that in April, 1955, 29.4 per cent of all married women in the United States were working for compensation outside the home.⁴ In 1890, only about one in every twenty married women had a job away from home (4.6 per cent);⁵ even as recently as 1940 the figure had increased only to about one in every six (16.8 per cent).⁶

¹ See, for example, Ernest W. Burgess and Harvey Locke, *The Family: From Institution to Companionship* (New York, American Book Company, 1945); Ruth Cavan, *The American Family* (New York, Crowell, 1953); Robert Winch, *The Modern Family* (New York, Henry Holt, 1951); W. F. Ogburn and M. F. Nimkoff, *Technology and the Changing Family* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1955).

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 113-148.

³ A few studies have focused upon certain aspects of the family life of employed wives. See, for example, Cecile T. LaFollette, "A Study of the Problems of 625 Gainfully Employed Married Homemakers" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, New York, 1934); Harvey J. Locke and Muriel Mackprang, "Marital Adjustment and the Employed Wife," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 54 (May, 1959), pp. 536-538; Deborah Kligler, "The Effects of Employment of Married Women on Husband and Wife Roles: A Study of Culture Change" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, New Haven, 1954).

⁴ *Current Population Reports—Labor Force*, P-50, No. 62 (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, December, 1955), Table A.

⁵ *Abstract of the Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920* (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, May, 1923), Table 36.

⁶ *Current Population Reports—Labor Force*, P-50, No. 29 (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, May, 1951), Table 4.

Questions are being raised today about how the employment of the wife may be affecting her other family roles—and those of her husband. How, for instance, does her employment influence the division of labor between the husband and wife, and how may it affect the allocation of authority in the family? To what extent are these husbands and wives becoming emancipated from the traditional conceptions of "woman's place" and "man's place" in the family? Is it true, since the wife has already become a partner with her husband in the family-provider role, that this partnership pattern extends also to other family roles? The present study was made in an attempt to seek some answers to these and related questions.

Procedure

The sample was drawn from the Madison (Wisconsin) City Directory in 1954, and comprised 129 families in which both the wife and the husband were employed. In an effort to obtain a relatively homogeneous sample of middle-class families, certain occupational and educational levels were used as the criteria for middle-class position. Thus, only families were included in which one or both of the mates had a high-school or college education, and in which one or both fell within the occupational classifications of professional, semiprofessional, managerial or official, clerical, sales, or skilled workers.⁷

Each family was visited, and the information for the study was obtained by questionnaires. The average age of the wives was 39 years; that of the husbands was 42 years. The mean number of years of marriage for the couples was 12.2. More than half of the couples (54 per cent) were childless, and the average number of children per family was 0.86. All the husbands and wives had as a minimum a high-school education, and a majority had some college education. Twenty-six per cent of the wives had completed college or done graduate work; 36 per cent of the husbands had completed work for either undergraduate or graduate degrees. A large majority (67 per cent) of the husbands were in the professional, the managerial or official, the clerical, or the sales occupational categories. Of the wives, the majority (63 per cent) were in skilled or semiskilled office work, and most of the remainder (27 per cent) were in the professional or semiprofessional classifications. Almost all the wives (93 per cent) had been employed before marriage; since marrying, 60.5 per cent had continued their employment regularly and full time. Only 29 per cent of the wives, however, expected to continue working permanently or until retirement.

⁷ Adapted from W. L. Warner, Marchia Meeker, and Kenneth Eells, *Social Class in America* (Chicago, Science Research Associates, 1949), p. 123. For further discussion of education and occupation as criteria for social class, see C. Wright Mills, *White Collar* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1951); and Richard Centers, *The Psychology of Social Classes* (Princeton University Press, 1949).

The basic hypothesis was that these two-income families would manifest "democratic" role-and-authority patterns and expectations. Based upon this, a number of derivative hypotheses were drawn up to be tested.⁸ These hypotheses pertained to three areas of family life: (1) homemaking, (2) social participation, and (3) providing for and financing the family.

Role-Performance Patterns⁹

The wife in each family was already a partner with her husband in the family-provider role. It seemed logical to expect that this partnership or democratic pattern would extend to other roles in other areas of family life also.

Homemaking.—The findings here are contrary to what was expected. The hypothesis was that the husband and wife in these families would share jointly in the home planning, home management, and the performance of household tasks. The distribution of families, however, indicates a dearth of partnership or democratic patterns in this area of family life (Table 1.) Not a single family fell in the highly democratic category, and

TABLE 1

Role-Performance Patterns in 129 Two-Income Families

Role Performance	Highly Traditional		Moderately Traditional		Intermediate		Moderately Democratic		Highly Democratic	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Homemaking ^a	16	12.5	69	53.5	39	30.0	5	4.0	0	0.0
Social participation and leisure activities ^b	4	3.0	1	1.0	13	10.0	30	23.0	81	63.0
Expenditure patterns ^c	31	24.5	24	18.5	6	4.5	8	6.0	60	46.5

^a $\chi^2 = 49.612$, d.f. = 1; significant at .05.

^b $\chi^2 = 87.10$, d.f. = 1; significant at .05.

^c $\chi^2 = 0.938$, d.f. = 1; not significant at .05.

⁸ Each hypothesis was tested in the following manner. Two family types were constructed representing polar opposites at either end of a continuum. The first was called the "traditional" family type, and the second was called the "democratic" family type. The continuum was subdivided into five equal-spaced categories, designated highly traditional, moderately traditional, intermediate, moderately democratic, and highly democratic. A series of numerical scores, obtained for each family, indicated the degree to which the family manifested democratic patterns and expectations in each area. Based upon their scores in the given area of family life, the families were thus distributed among the five categories. When a significantly greater proportion of families were found in the democratic categories than in the traditional categories, this was taken as evidence in support of the given hypothesis. The Chi-square test of significance was applied in each case.

⁹ By "role performance" is meant the way the actor or role-bearer actually performs the part of a given social role. By "role expectations" is meant those actions expected of an actor by himself and by others with reference to a specific role within a given social situation.

only 4 per cent of the families in the moderately democratic category. It appears that even though the wife was sharing the family-provider role with her husband, there was very little reciprocal sharing in the homemaking role by her husband; she was apparently still carrying the main burden here in the traditional manner. (It should be noted here that in only 7 per cent of the families did the wife have regular or a substantial amount of non-family hired help with the housework.)

Social participation.—The data strongly supported the hypothesis that the husband and wife in these families would share social, recreational, and leisure activities. The distribution of families is sharply skewed toward the democratic pole of the continuum, with 86 per cent in the democratic categories (Table 1.) The findings indicate that these wives were joining their husbands in most of their social, recreational, and other leisure activities, and suggest that the marriage partners had and shared a wide variety of interests both in and outside the home. In this area, at least, these families approximated the Burgess and Locke "companionship" family type.

Providing for and financing the family.—The hypothesis here was that there would be more joint contributing to, or sharing by, husband and wife of family and personal expenses than there would be of allocating funds from either the husband's or the wife's income separately for specific family and personal expenses.

The findings here are inconclusive, but noteworthy. The distribution of families is a bi-modal one, with the modes at the extremes (Table 1.) In the highly traditional category were 24.5 per cent of the families, while 46.5 per cent were in the highly democratic grouping. This bi-modal distribution shows the existence of a sharp cleavage within the group in the matter of handling family financial affairs. Analysis of the data showed that in many of the families the husband's income was still being used for the basic family expenses, such as food, fuel, and housing, while the wife's income was going largely for her personal expenses, such as clothes, cosmetics, and beauty treatments. In other families there was a division of the respective incomes for specified family and personal items; for example food, rent, and clothing were being paid for out of the husband's income, and the wife's income was being ear-marked for such things as insurance, medical expenses, and vacations. In contrast to the above patterns is that found in the majority of the families (52 per cent): the husband and wife pooled their incomes for all purposes. Although the findings here do not statistically support the hypothesis, still in terms of the main question (How democratic are these families in this area of family life?), it seems significant that in 52 per cent of the families the husband and wife did put their entire incomes into a common fund to be used for all purposes.

Role Performance and Role Expectations

Although it was expected that these families would be more democratic than traditional in both role-performance patterns and in role expectations, it was reasoned that the various changes and adjustments in the division of labor and role activities in working-couple families might be creating a situation where discrepancies exist between what the marriage partners are actually doing and what they really feel they ought to be doing. It seemed likely that they might still hold to some degree the more traditional role expectations probably derived from their family backgrounds. Therefore, it was hypothesized that in these families the role-performance patterns would be more democratic than would the role expectations of the spouses.

The findings did not support the hypothesis. In fact, the role expectations of the wives were significantly more democratic than the corresponding family role-performance patterns (Table 2). And for the husbands also

TABLE 2

Family Role Performance, Wife's Role-Expectations, and Husband's Role-Expectation in 129 Two-Income Families

Role Performance	Traditional		Intermediate		Democratic	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Family role performance ^{a, b}	24	19	71	55	34	26
Wife's role-expectations ^a	11	9	68	52	50	39
Husband's role-expectations ^b	19	15	70	54	40	31

^a $\chi^2=7.936$, d.f. = 2; significant at .05.

^b $\chi^2=1.068$, d.f. = 2; not significant at .05.

the role expectations were somewhat more democratic than the performance patterns, but not significantly so (Table 2). These findings suggest that, within the scope of the study, the role conceptions of the wives—and of the husbands to a lesser degree—have become as much emancipated from the "traditional" as have the actual family practices, or more. Perhaps these wives, who have become full partners with their husbands in the family-providing role, now expect their husbands to be partners with them in other things (such as in caring for the home) to a greater extent than the husbands are willing to be. As for the husbands, may they not perhaps feel that since their wives are helping to support the family, they (the husbands) should be sharing in the other family roles more than they actually do?

*Authority Patterns*¹⁰

As American women have been gaining in status legally, politically, and economically, they also have been gaining in status within the family. There is much that suggests a general trend toward more equalitarian authority-patterns in the middle-class family today, and it seemed likely that this equalitarianness would be quite pronounced in middle-class families in which the wife was employed.

The findings here strongly support the hypothesis that there would be an equalitarian distribution and joint exercise of authority by the husband and wife, while the husbands alone made the decisions in only 9 per cent of the families (Table 3). Disagreements and differences between husband and wife were settled by mutual give-and-take in a large majority of the families (88 per cent fall in the two equalitarian categories, as compared to 6.5 per cent in the traditional categories).

Insofar as decision-making and the settling of disagreements and differences are indicative of family authority-patterns, these working couples appear to represent a considerable break away from traditional patriarchal ways. The findings suggest that in urban middle-class two-income families, the wife is well on her way toward achieving equality with her husband.

TABLE 3

Decision-making and the Settling of Disagreements in 129 Two-Income Families

Role Performance	Highly Traditional		Moderately Traditional		Intermediate		Moderately Democratic		Highly Democratic	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Decision-making ^a	1	1	10	8	39	30	44	34	35	27
Settling disagreements ^b	3	2.5	5	4	17	5.5	18	14	96	74

^a $\chi^2=17.860$, d.f.=1; significant at .05.

^b $\chi^2=71.441$, d.f.=1; significant at .05.

Authority Patterns and Authority Expectations

The notion here was essentially the same as that pertaining to the relationship between role performance and role expectations. The hypothesis was that in these families the authority patterns would be more equalitarian

¹⁰ By "authority performance" (or "authority patterns") is meant the actual distribution of legitimate power between husband and wife and its exercise as manifested in their social actions within the family situation. By "authority expectations" is meant roughly the expected distribution of authority among, and exercise of authority by, the several actors in a given interactional situation—in this instance, the husband and wife in a given family situation.

than the authority expectations of the husband and the wife. The data did not support the hypothesis, however. On the contrary, there was apparent a slight tendency (not statistically significant) for the wife to be even more democratic or equalitarian in her authority expectations than the family was in the way authority was actually distributed and exercised. Ninety per cent of the wives had equalitarian authority-expectations, whereas 84.5 per cent of the families were equalitarian in authority patterns (Table 4). No appreciable difference was found between the family authority-patterns and the authority expectations of the husbands.

The striking feature here for both husbands and wives is the similarity or closeness of their authority expectations to the highly equalitarian authority-patterns found in these families. Within the scope of the study, these working couples were apparently as equalitarian in belief as in practice.

TABLE 4

Family Authority Patterns, Wife's Authority Expectations, and Husband's Authority Expectations

Role Performance	Highly Traditional		Moderately Traditional		Intermediate		Moderately Democratic		Highly Democratic	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Family authority patterns ^{a, b}	0	0.0	4	3.0	16	12.5	79	61.0	30	23.5
Wives' authority expectations ^a	1	1.0	1	1.0	10	8.0	83	64.0	34	26.0
Husbands' authority expectations ^b	2	1.5	8	6.0	10	8.0	76	59.0	33	25.5

^a $\chi^2=2.344$, d.f.=2; not significant at .05.

^b $\chi^2=0.1962$, d.f.=2; not significant at .05.

Conclusions

1. A general trend toward democratic role-performance patterns is discernible in these two-income families. However, the equal sharing of all family roles by husband and wife is far from complete, and scarcely uniform from one role area to another. Many quite traditional patterns are still apparent, especially in the area of homemaking. The findings suggest that role distribution and organization are in a state of flux and transition, with the division of duties and the performance of specific tasks apparently being worked out to a considerable degree by experimentation in each given family situation.

2. In role expectations, the findings suggest that the husbands and wives are becoming as emancipated from the traditional conceptions of "man's

place" and "woman's place" in the family as they are in their actual family practices. The data suggest that there are not any fundamental discrepancies between what the marriage partners are doing and what each thinks or feels he and his spouse ought to be doing.

3. That the wife has apparently achieved virtual equality with her husband in exercising family authority suggests that urban middle-class working couples are becoming essentially emancipated from any vestiges of traditional patriarchal family authority-patterns.

4. The fact that the authority expectations of the marriage partners had become as equalitarian as their actual performance-patterns implies that the wife not only has achieved virtual equality with her husband but furthermore that both she and her husband feel she should have this equality. This—together with the comparable findings on role expectations—suggests that the intellectual acceptance of democratic family values by the husband and wife is keeping pace with the emerging democratic family practices in urban middle-class families where the wife is employed.

Prospects for the Port of Sacramento

KENNETH THOMPSON
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA (DAVIS)

SACRAMENTO'S DISTINCT LOCATIONAL ASSETS early assured that city's development as a transportation node and bulk-breaking center. It lies at the confluence of important rivers, and its position about midway between the San Francisco gap in the Coast Ranges and the best passes of the Sierra Nevada places it on a very important east-west land route. At Sacramento the only transcontinental railroads and main highways intersected with the principal north-south rail and highway routes of the Central Valley. The construction of additional roads and railroads has confirmed and reinforced Sacramento's position as the major inland transportation center of northern California.¹

Historical background.—Sacramento has been a river port since its founding in 1839.² A schooner service between what are now the cities of San Francisco and Sacramento was established as early as 1841 by the pioneer settler in the area, John Augustus Sutter.³ When the gold mines were established in the western Sierra Nevada after 1849, Sacramento mushroomed into prominence as a port and supply center.

At first, in the virtual absence of land routes, there was bustling activity on the Sacramento River. It is reported that sixty-five steam and sailing vessels were tied up on the Sacramento waterfront at one time in 1850.⁴ Large ships, including ocean-going vessels, carried freight between San Francisco and Sacramento and as far as Red Bluff, at the head of navigation.

The gold mining that stimulated most of the early Sacramento River traffic eventually caused its decline. Excessive silting of the river—from hydraulic gold mining in the Mother Lode region and Northern Diggings of

¹ Sacramento is served by the Southern Pacific, Western Pacific, Central California Traction, and the Sacramento Northern railroads. It is also on U.S. Highways 40, 50, and 99 as well as State Highways 16 and 24.

² For details, see H. H. Bancroft, *History of California*, Vol. XXI (San Francisco, The History Co., 1886), p. 131.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 233.

⁴ M. S. Lord, *A Sacramento Saga* (Sacramento, Sacramento Chamber of Commerce, 1946), p. 146.

the Sierra Nevada—began to interfere with river shipping in the 1860's.⁵ In 1875 a group of Sacramento businessmen petitioned for navigation improvements, for "nearly all transportation by water is being cut off."⁶ However, the decline of river shipping was also hastened by improved transport facilities on land.

Federal authorities first undertook, in 1875, the improvement and maintenance of the Sacramento River as a navigable waterway with a depth of 7 feet. In 1927, the channel was deepened to 10 feet from the river mouth to Sacramento; 6 feet from Sacramento to Colusa; and such depths as were practicable to Red Bluff. The distance from the river mouth to Red Bluff is 245 miles. In winter and spring the river is often considerably deeper than the maintained navigation depths. On March 2, 1934, with the river at a high stage, a ship of 9,584 tons of displacement called at Sacramento.⁷

Although Sacramento's river traffic declined sharply after its promising beginnings, the city retained minor significance as a river port for shallow-draft vessels. Present port facilities at Sacramento consist of wharfage on the river at the western edge of the city, including sixteen piers and wharves. One pier, available for general cargo, is owned by the City of Sacramento; another is federal property; the others are privately owned.

In the interwar years most of the freight moving on the river was between Sacramento and San Francisco Bay ports. It averaged about 750,000 tons a year in the 1930's. Since the Second World War, tonnage has steadily increased. It rose from the 1,077,663 tons moved in 1946 to 2,228,431 tons by 1955 (Table 1).⁸ Motor fuel, gasoline, and other petroleum products made up more than 76 per cent of the tonnage; vegetables and fruits in various forms accounted for 4.7 per cent; and rice for 4.4 per cent (Table 2). Nearly all the remainder, except some sand and gravel, consisted of agricultural exports and imported agricultural supplies. Some 85 per cent of the total tonnage moving over the river was inbound. Virtually no freight was moved by ocean shipping.⁹ Not all the Sacramento River freight is destined for Sacramento. However, it is estimated that about 90 per cent of

⁵ J. Dana, *The Sacramento* (New York, Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1939), p. 146.

⁶ Lord, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

⁸ Freight tonnages for 1955 will be used in this paper because they represent the most recent normal year available. Data for 1956 have been compiled but are misleading, since tugboat pilots were on strike from January 1 until May 15 of that year. The strike mostly affected shallow-draft tonnage, and Sacramento suffered severely, as it handles barge traffic exclusively. In consequence, total freight traffic on the Sacramento River during 1956 was about 15 per cent below that in 1955.

⁹ *Waterborne Commerce of the United States, Calendar Year 1955*, Part 4, Waterways and Harbors: Pacific Coast, Alaska, and Pacific Islands, Department of the Army, Corps of Engineers, 1956, cited hereafter as *Waterborne Commerce*.

TABLE 1

Freight Traffic on the Sacramento River

Year	Tons
1946	1,077,663
1947	1,380,202
1948	1,541,508
1949	1,610,083
1950	1,590,883
1951	1,975,223
1952	1,889,466
1953	1,972,059
1954	2,172,451
1955	2,228,431
1956	1,886,540*

* It may be assumed that the 1956 decline was caused by the fourteen-week tugboat pilots' strike.

Source: *Waterborne Commerce of the United States, Calendar Year 1956*, Part 4, Waterways and Harbors: Pacific Coast, Alaska, and Pacific Islands, Department of the Army, Corps of Engineers, 1957.

TABLE 2

Major Commodities Shipped on the Sacramento River in 1955

Commodity	Tons	Percentage of Total
Petroleum products	1,701,732	76.4
Sand, gravel, and crushed rock	192,635	8.6
Vegetables and fruits (fresh, frozen, canned, dried)	103,867	4.7
Rice	97,450	4.4

Source: *Waterborne Commerce of the United States, Calendar Year 1955*, Part 4, Waterways and Harbors: Pacific Coast, Alaska, and Pacific Islands, Department of the Army, Corps of Engineers, 1956.

the petroleum products and 80 per cent of general cargo moving on the river are shipped through the Port of Sacramento.¹⁰

The Sacramento River.—Below Red Bluff, the Sacramento River follows an intricate, meandering course through the northern section of the Central Valley. The gradient steadily diminishes down the stream; in its lower reaches, the river flows between well-developed natural levees, with a gradient of less than eight inches to a mile in a straight line, and much less if meanders are taken into account. Silt deposition is the natural result with the river in its low summer stages.¹¹ The meanders, silt obstructions, large seasonal variations in volume, and low average-depth all combine to limit drastically the utility of the Sacramento River as a navigable waterway.

¹⁰ Personal communication from W. G. Stone, director, Sacramento-Yolo Port District.

¹¹ N. M. Fenneman, *Physiography of Western United States* (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1931), p. 474.

Navigation improvements.—The relatively minor improvements in Sacramento River navigation made by the Corps of Engineers have long been considered inadequate by certain interests. Since before the First World War there has been mounting and organized agitation for river improvements of a scale to permit ocean shipping to reach Sacramento. Efforts to provide sea-port facilities at Sacramento produced, in 1946, Congressional authorization for the Sacramento River Deep-Water Ship Channel,¹² according to proposals of the Corps of Engineers.¹³

The project calls for a ship channel 30 feet deep at low tide, with 200 feet bottom width, extending for 42.8 miles from deep water in Suisun Bay to Lake Washington, part of an abandoned channel of the Sacramento River, just west of Sacramento. For the first 18.6 miles above Suisun Bay the deep-water channel will be formed by the enlargement of existing natural waterways; the remaining 24.2 miles are to be new channel lying along the eastern margin of the Yolo Bypass, an emergency flood reservoir for excess waters of the Sacramento River. Lake Washington, terminus of the ship channel, will be enlarged to provide a harbor and turning basin. There will be another turning basin in the mid-section of the channel.

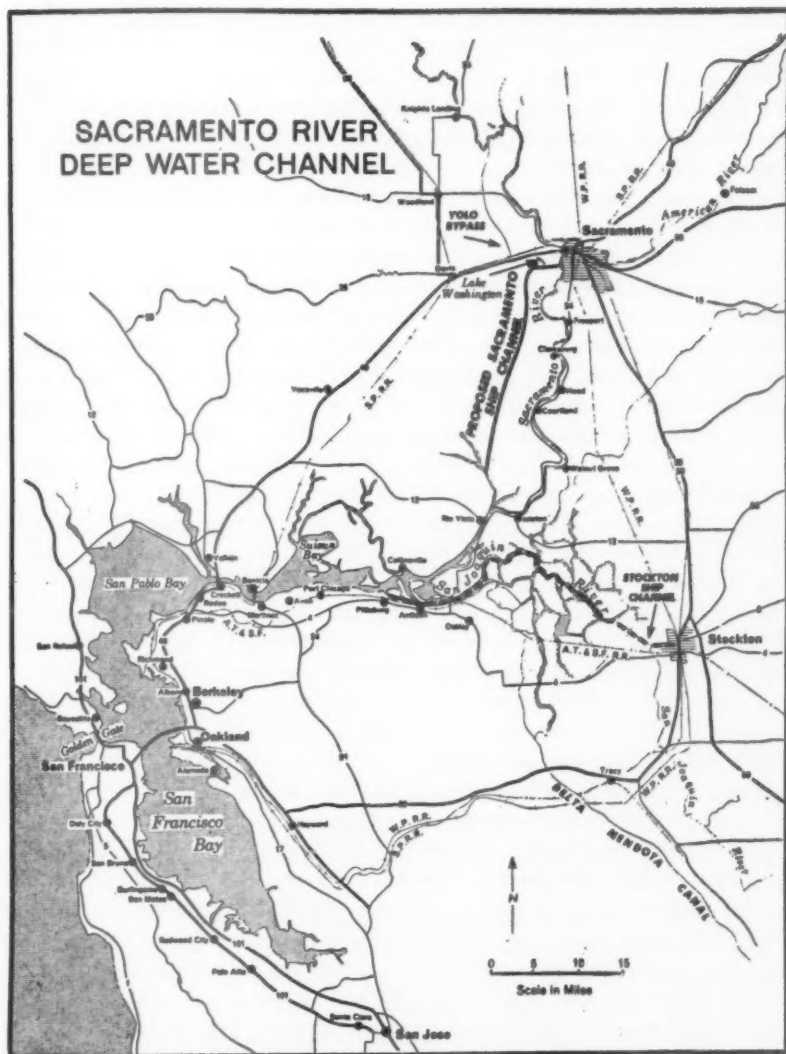
To link the ship channel terminus with the Sacramento River, the project calls for the construction of a barge canal 1.5 miles long, from Lake Washington to the Sacramento River at Sacramento. A lock will be needed, for the water level in the Lake Washington harbor will at times be more than 20 feet below the level of the Sacramento River.

The corps of Engineers is presently constructing the deep-water channel; completion is scheduled for late 1961 or early 1962, depending on Congressional appropriations. The completed channel will provide ocean shipping with an easily navigated waterway to West Sacramento. Barge traffic on the river will have access to the deep-water channel through the lock and canal at its head.

Several factors militated against enlarging the existing river channel all the way to Sacramento. First, a fairly direct course will cut 15 miles from the present meandering river route to Sacramento. Second, no fewer than five bridges between Sacramento and Suisun Bay would have to be replaced or modified to accommodate the passage of ships of the size expected to use the channel. Furthermore, the artificial channel, free from current and floodwaters, will be easier to maintain than the river. In addition, enlarging the river would destroy much highly productive farm land, including extensive valuable mature orchards on the river's natural levees. It is true that the ship channel will use up some 6,000 acres of farm land, but this land is much less

¹² River and Harbor Act, July 24, 1946.

¹³ Sen. Doc. No. 142, 79th Cong., 2d Sess.



valuable than that on the natural levees, for it lies in a floodway and is subject to annual inundation.¹⁴

¹⁴ The intensity and frequency of flooding on the Yolo Bypass can be expected to decline with further increase in reservoir storage capacity in the Sacramento River system, but it can reasonably be anticipated that the floodway will remain a permanent necessity. Warm rains on the western slopes of the Sierra Nevada occasionally melt the snow cover rapidly and prematurely, causing a considerable rise in the level of the Sacramento River.

Other benefits from the channel.—The Sacramento River Deep-Water Ship Channel will yield benefits other than navigational ones. Necessary dredging and the removal of islands near the mouth of the river will make for more rapid disposal of floodwater in the river. Southerly sections of the Yolo Bypass will also benefit through the reduction of the flooding in the Bypass—a compensation for the loss of agricultural land to the channel site.

A further advantage expected to accrue from the deep-water channel is that it will provide industrial sites. Plans call for allocating space on the eastern side of the channel as a potential industrial area with private wharfage. The construction of a turning basin in the mid-section of the channel will serve the needs of shipping that visits these industrial plants. The industrial development area will afford flood-free sites with solid, rock foundations near a railroad and state highway.¹⁵ The promoters of the project hope that industrial development will take place along the banks of the deep-water channel, as has occurred in similar situations elsewhere in the country. The nearby Stockton Ship Channel offers few industrial sites because it passes through a peat area unsuitable for heavy construction.

Strategic value.—The Sacramento River Deep-Water Ship Channel will not be without strategic value. Several installations of military importance are located in the area, including McClellan Air Force Base, Mather Air Force Base, Sacramento Signal Depot, and Aerojet-General Corporation. Beale and Travis Air Force bases are, respectively, 37 and 33 miles from Sacramento. Even with the present limited river navigation, these installations receive the bulk of their petroleum products, as well as other supplies, by barge.¹⁶ The deep-water channel will not only reduce transport costs to these military installations but will provide an alternative route and additional terminal facilities for military uses. Being inland facilities, they should be militarily less vulnerable than similar facilities on the coast.

Sacramento compared with Stockton.—There is, of course, no accurate way of estimating the amount of traffic that will use the Sacramento channel or the ancillary benefits that the channel will bring. However, the nearby Port of Stockton already provides inland port facilities for the Central Valley and may be taken more or less as an archetype for Sacramento port developments. When the Sacramento Deep-Water Channel is complete, the Central Valley will be served by two adjacent inland ports. Both will be connected to San Francisco Bay through 30-foot ship channels, built and maintained by the Corps of Engineers. Via the deep-water channels, both will be about the same distance from the ocean: Stockton 75 miles and Sacramento 90

¹⁵ Flooding is a recurrent hazard in the lower Sacramento–San Joaquin River area. There are also extensive tracts of peat soils, which are unsuitable as heavy-construction sites because of their softness and declining levels.

¹⁶ Personal communication from W. G. Stone, director, Sacramento-Yolo Port District.

miles. Both cities have closely similar land transport facilities. Stockton, like Sacramento, lies at the intersection of north-south and east-west rail and road routes.¹⁷

Sacramento and Stockton have other features in common. Both cities experienced a similar rapid initial growth during the Gold Rush and both became agricultural warehouse and shipping centers of the rich Central Valley farm lands. Both have developed as retail and wholesale focuses and as processing and industrial centers. At present, Stockton offers much the same shipping facilities that Sacramento will afford to the same region when the deep-water channel project is complete. Inevitably there will be considerable competition between the two ports. Thus an examination of the Port of Stockton should be indicative of Sacramento's future development.

Stockton's freight traffic.—Tonnage handled by the Port of Stockton has increased steadily since the Second World War (Table 3). In 1955, total

TABLE 3

Freight Traffic of Stockton

Year	Tons
1946	822,005
1947	622,532
1948	778,240
1949	977,190
1950	1,118,186
1951	1,163,344
1952	1,518,727
1953	1,572,026
1954	1,602,331
1955	1,911,013
1956	2,578,227*

* This tonnage increased despite the tugboat pilots' strike that reduced shallow-draft tonnage.

Source: *Waterborne Commerce of the United States, Calendar Year 1956*, Part 4, Waterways and Harbors: Pacific Coast, Alaska, and Pacific Islands, Department of the Army, Corps of Engineers, 1957.

freight traffic amounted to 1,911,013 tons, comprised of relatively few commodities.¹⁸ Almost 40 per cent was of various petroleum products, virtually all inbound; about another 40 per cent consisted of the four leading exports: iron ore, 12.1 per cent; rice, 12.1 per cent; vegetables and fruits (fresh, frozen, canned and dried), 12.3 per cent; and barley, 5.4 per cent (Table 4).¹⁹ In 1956, freight traffic totaled 2,578,227 tons,²⁰ and preliminary

¹⁷ The Port of Stockton's belt line and yards connect with the Southern Pacific, Santa Fe, Central California Traction, and Western Pacific railroads. U.S. Highways 50 and 99 and State Highways 4, 8, and 88 also pass through Stockton.

¹⁸ Again freight tonnages for 1955 are used in preference to those of 1956 because of the effect of tugboat pilots' strike in 1956.

¹⁹ *Waterborne Commerce*, 1956.

²⁰ *Waterborne Commerce*, 1957.

TABLE 4

Major Commodities Shipped to or from Stockton in 1955

Commodity	Tons	Percentage of Total
Petroleum products	757,336	39.6
Vegetables and fruits (fresh, frozen, canned, dried)	234,874	12.3
Iron ore	231,973	12.1
Rice	230,949	12.1
Molasses (inedible)	107,246	5.6
Barley	102,963	5.4

Source: *Waterborne Commerce of the United States, Calendar Year 1955*, Part 4, Waterways and Harbors: Pacific Coast, Alaska, and Pacific Islands, Department of the Army, Corps of Engineers, 1956.

figure indicate that 1957 was a record year with 3,086,548 tons of traffic.²¹

Estimates of Sacramento's freight traffic.—As might be expected, estimates of potential traffic on the Sacramento Deep-Water Channel, made by the Corps of Engineers, bear some resemblance to the present general traffic pattern of Stockton.²² In the period 1960–2010, according to the extrapolations, average annual deep-draft traffic (about 80 per cent outbound) will be 857,000 tons (Table 5); shallow-draft tonnage (almost all inbound petroleum products) will be 4,000,000 tons annually.²³

The experience of Stockton and the estimates of the Corps of Engineers suggest that the freight traffic of the port of Sacramento will be dominated by only a few commodities. Iron ore is now the principal commodity exported from the Port of Stockton (see Table 4).²⁴ Most of it is produced in north-central Nevada, transported to Stockton by rail, and loaded on ships by modern bulk-handling equipment. The ore is exported very largely to Japan. Sacramento, though nearer than Stockton to the source of ore, is not likely to attract this freight, for Stockton's loading facilities are unique on the Pacific Coast. However, Stockton's grip on this traffic is unsure for more fundamental reasons: it is uncertain how long Japan will continue to buy iron ore from the United States in view of that country's balance-of-payments difficulties with the dollar area, plus the possibility that she may resume trade with other Asian suppliers, notably China.

²¹ *Stockton Record*, Stockton California, March 31, 1958.

²² These and other estimates quoted in this paper invite caution, for they are based on a large number of assumptions. They should be taken as indicative of future trends rather than as reliable forecasts.

²³ Information supplied by the Department of the Army, Corps of Engineers.

²⁴ Large-scale exports of Nevada iron ore to Japan began in 1951 and shipment was initially made through Richmond and Oakland. Since establishment in 1952 of a bulk-ore loading facility at Stockton, all the Nevada export ores have passed through that port. The Nevada iron-ore mines are at Gabbs, Nye County; Wabuska, Lyon County; Lovelock, Pershing County; Jungo, Humboldt County; and Palisade, Eureka County.—See John M. Heizer, *Port of Stockton, California, Iron Ore Shipments* (Pacific Southwest Mineral Industry Conference, St. Francis Hotel, San Francisco, California, March 28, 1958).

TABLE 5

Average Annual Tonnage, by Commodities, of Deep-Draft Traffic Expected to Use the Sacramento Deep-Water Channel, for Period 1960-2010

<i>Commodity Outbound</i>	<i>Av. Annual Traffic</i>	<i>Percentage of Total</i>
Rice	250,000	29.2
Barley	125,000	14.6
Canned goods	185,000	21.6
Dried beans	27,000	3.1
Dried fruit	28,000	3.3
Nuts	7,000	
Wool	3,000	
Mill feeds	10,000	
Miscellaneous	45,000	
	680,000	
<i>Inbound</i>		
Lumber	9,000	4.2
Steel products	36,000	1.5
Molasses	13,000	1.7
Pineapple	15,000	1.2
Fertilizer	10,000	
Miscellaneous	16,000	
	99,000	
Subtotal	779,000	
Predicted New Tonnage	78,000	
Grand Total	857,000	

Source: Information supplied by the Department of the Army, Corps of Engineers, 1957.

In 1954, California produced about 19 per cent of all rice harvested in the United States,²⁵ nearly all short-grain. Unlike other American rice, short-grain rice is exported largely to Asia, principally Japan,²⁶ passing through San Francisco Bay ports and Stockton. However, the rice is grown mainly in the Sacramento Valley²⁷ and milled at Woodland and West Sacramento, Yolo County. Shipping economy should dictate that most of the rice exports will be handled by the Sacramento port when the deep-water channel is complete. It should be noted, however, that while Japan is likely to remain

²⁵ 1954 *Census of Agriculture*, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, 1956, cited hereafter as 1954 *Census of Agriculture*.

²⁶ G. L. Mehren and Nicholas Thuroczy, *The Market for United States Rice: Foreign*. California Agricultural Experiment Station, Giannini Foundation of Agricultural Economics, Mimeographed Report No. 163 (March 1954), p. 42.

²⁷ Eight Sacramento Valley counties (Colusa, Butte, Sutter, Glenn, Yolo, Yuba, Sacramento, and Placer) together produce 78 per cent of the California rice crop.—1954 *Census of Agriculture*.

a major importer of rice, there is some doubt that United States growers can retain their Japanese markets. Dollar shortages and competition from the low labor-cost southeast Asian production may cause Asian rice importers to seek new sources of supply. There is also danger that the United States price-support policy may price the American producer out of his important Asiatic market.²⁸ This somewhat insecure market situation in rice involves nearly 30 per cent of the estimated deep-draft tonnage on the deep-water channel (see Table 5).

The California food-canning industry is largely concentrated in three regions: the Los Angeles area; the San Francisco Bay area; and the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta area.²⁹ The present location of a substantial proportion of California canning plants, mainly for fruits and tomatoes, in the Sacramento Valley can be expected to provide considerable tonnage for the Sacramento port, presumably at the expense of Stockton and Bay area ports.

Barley, the most valuable California cereal crop, is produced mainly in the Sacramento and middle San Joaquin valleys.³⁰ Considerable quantities of this barley are exported in bulk by ship, and it can be expected that a Sacramento port will offer considerable savings in transportation from producer to shipside. It can be anticipated that the port would acquire the export tonnage of Sacramento Valley barley that now moves out through Bay ports and Stockton.

The most important dried fruits produced in California are raisins and prunes. Nearly all the raisins are produced in the middle San Joaquin Valley, particularly in the Fresno area, nearer Stockton.³¹ In consequence, Sacramento is unlikely to handle a significant tonnage of this type of dried fruit. The other major type of dried fruit, prunes, is principally produced in Santa Clara County³² and exported through San Francisco Bay ports. However, prune acreage is increasing in the Sacramento Valley as it declines in Santa Clara County. The rapid urbanization taking place there is at the expense of prune orchards. Prunes can be expected to provide an increasing tonnage of freight for Sacramento port.

Shallow-draft tonnage.—Because the Sacramento Deep-Water Channel provides a shorter route from Suisun Bay to the City of Sacramento than does the river, a very substantial tonnage can be expected to move on the channel in shallow-draft vessels—especially since the channel will permit the use of

²⁸ Mehren and Thuroczy, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-78.

²⁹ C. M. Zierer (ed.), *California and the Southwest* (New York, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1956), p. 254.

³⁰ Nine Sacramento Valley counties (Yolo, Colusa, Glenn, Solano, Sacramento, Butte, Sutter, Tehama, and Yuba) produce 23 per cent of the California barley crop.—*1954 Census of Agriculture*.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*

larger barges than are now on the river. Furthermore, much of the journey will be in still water. The Corps of Engineers estimates that this will amount to four million tons annually, mostly petroleum in various forms.³³ But even this very large tonnage estimate appears conservative, for the consumption of petroleum products is closely related to population, and the projected growth in Sacramento County alone has been set at 440 per cent between 1955 and the year 2000.³⁴ If this increase of 440 per cent were to be general, shallow-draft petroleum tonnage alone might be around ten million tons in 2000. It might be added that the Corps of Engineers does not appear to anticipate a substantial increase in the tonnage of sand and gravel moved in shallow-draft vessels. However, in 1955 almost 200,000 tons of this material moved over the Sacramento River and, as with petroleum products, the demand for sand and gravel is roughly in proportion to population.

Arguments against the deep-water channel.—Some persons feel that there is no inadequacy of existing port facilities for northern California and northwestern Nevada. They believe that Crescent City, Humboldt Harbor, San Francisco Bay ports, Stockton, and others provide sufficient port services for the area broadly tributary to Sacramento. Stockton, an inland port served by a ship channel and located 45 miles south of Sacramento, is claimed by some to offer fully adequate port facilities for interior northern California. Consequently, there have been strong protests again the proposed federal expenditure of \$39,500,000 and some \$10,000,000 of local funds on the Sacramento Deep-Water Channel. Some San Francisco Bay ports, and the Port of Stockton in particular, have shown resistance to the Sacramento port developments.

Opposition to the Sacramento port project is given support by the fact that the dry-cargo tonnage of San Francisco Bay ports has tended to decline in the last twenty years, except during the war.³⁵ According to one survey, Bay Area ports are operating at only 50 to 75 per cent of capacity.³⁶

Despite the foregoing objections, some of the larger shippers in the Sacramento area have been active in promoting the deep-water channel project. They were motivated, in part, by the desire to secure terminal-shipping freight rates. Such terminal rates would give Sacramento transport parity with port cities in the region, bolstering the competitive position of these shippers. However, such an advantage would probably be only temporary,

³³ Information supplied by the Department of the Army, Corps of Engineers.

³⁴ In 1955, the population of Sacramento County was 368,300 (according to estimates of the California Taxpayers Association). By the year 2000, this is expected to increase to 1,998,000 (estimate of the Sacramento City-County Chamber of Commerce, 1957).

³⁵ W. A. Hurst and L. Mah, *Waterborne Trade of California Ports* (Supplement to the *Monthly Review of the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco*, May, 1951), p. 3.

³⁶ *Ports of San Francisco Bay Area, Their Commerce, Facilities, Problems, and Progress*. Final report of the Senate Fact-Finding Committee on San Francisco Bay Ports, Calif. Leg., 1951, Gen. Sess. (Sacramento, Senate of the State of California, 1951), p. 23.

for the recipients of Sacramento produce would tend to demand price reductions more or less in line with the transportation economies resulting from the deep-water channel.

Conclusion.—Sacramento is on its way to becoming a deep-water inland port, some vigorous opposition notwithstanding. Indications are that deep-draft tonnage on the channel will at first consist largely of agricultural exports—principally rice, barley, canned foods, and dried beans and fruits. Initially, shallow-draft tonnage will be comprised mainly of continually increasing petroleum imports.

The substantial increase during recent years of the Port of Stockton's and the Sacramento River's freight traffic augurs well for Sacramento. It suggests that the mounting freight traffic of the Central Valley will sustain both inland ports at high capacity. The Sacramento port project is consistent with anticipated development trends in the state. Population extrapolations for California indicate not only an enormous increase in numbers but also a drastic change in the present distribution pattern, with proportionately more people in the relatively less-populated north. A deep-water port in the Sacramento Valley will provide a locus of concentration for the expanding population and economy of northern California. Inevitably, it will further the already rapid growth of Sacramento as a transportation, commercial, and industrial center.

Book Reviews

Edited by

H. MALCOLM MACDONALD

C. G. HAINES and F. H. SHERWOOD: *The Role of the Supreme Court in American Government and Politics, 1835-1864*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1957. 533 pages. \$7.50.

PAUL KAUPER: *Frontiers of Constitutional Liberty*. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1957. 251 pages. \$5.00.

When death intruded in 1948, Professor Haines was working on a continuation of the story that began in his well-known volume *The Role of the Supreme Court in American Government and Politics, 1789-1835* (1944). Sherwood picked up the fragments and, attempting to preserve his former mentor's point of view, brought out the present volume. The earlier book suggested that Marshall's Court had established three basic doctrines, the supremacy of (1) private interests as against community interests, (2) the nation vis-à-vis the states, and (3) the judiciary in relation to other branches of the national government and vis-à-vis the states as well. These, of course, reflect with undiminished vigor the pure Hamiltonianism of the old Federalist party. Their common denominator, perhaps, was an Old World distrust of democracy and the "common man."

What would happen when the Jack-

sonian Democrats in 1837 finally obtained a sympathetic majority on the Supreme Court under the leadership of Roger Taney? Not the obvious! This perhaps is the Haines-Sherwood theme. Taney's Democratic Court avoided becoming the antithesis of Marshall's Hamiltonianism. Rather it accomplished that remarkable intellectual feat—a synthesis without the "waste" of an intervening radical extreme. Taney's Court acknowledged that "the rights of private property must be sacredly guarded," yet added to American law a police-power caveat: "but it must not be forgotten that the community also have rights." National supremacy was not questioned, but Marshall's doctrine that national power is exclusive, i.e., monopolistic, was thoroughly modified. Finally, although the Court's power remained intact, it was tempered by a new principle of judicial self-restraint: the doctrine of political questions. The common denominator of these innovations was, of course, the Jacksonian Democratic respect for popular self-government. But, having operated on this premise for a generation, how could Taney's Court suddenly "blunder" into the Dred Scott decision? To this classic enigma, Haines and Sherwood contribute no new insights. In their final paragraph they casually mention that "from 1848 on, suggestions had been made in Con-

gress that the whole slavery question . . . be submitted to the Court for settlement." What the authors seem not to have known is that those suggestions were enacted into law in the great Compromise of 1850 and again in the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 and that virtually all leading statesmen of the day, including Lincoln and Douglas, publicly pledged themselves and their parties to accept the Court's decision, whatever it might be. Surely here is the key to the Dred Scott riddle! In that unfortunate case the Court did not interfere with established legislative policy. Rather it reluctantly accepted a repeated Congressional invitation to settle a nation-wrecking problem which Congress, after years of effort, found itself incapable of solving. Had the Court done otherwise, future generations would be entitled to ask, as Father Hopkins puts it, "why the last peaceful means of settling the issue that precipitated the Civil War had not been tried?"

The authors seem to conclude in orthodox fashion that Marshall's was a greater Court than Taney's. The fact is, or so it seems to me, that except for a brief period from the 1890's to 1937, the views of the Jacksonian Court have prevailed in American jurisprudence.

Plainly, the decisions of the Court under Marshall and Taney reflect that very different ideals and institutions of two disparate eras. Similarly posterity may find in today's judicial concern for civil liberty the spirit of America in the age of dictators from Hitler to the present. If so, *Frontiers of Constitutional Liberty* will provide an enlightening résumé. Paul Kauper is professor of law at the University of Michigan Law School. This volume is the printed version of his Cooley Lectures at Ann

Arbor in early 1956. Here is legal expression at its lean and lucid best. After a knowing exploration of how and why Constitutional law changes while the Constitution remains unaltered, Kauper traces the developments of basic law in our day with respect to freedom of speech and religion, criminal-trial procedure and "equal protection" for Negroes. Absolutists of both right and left will find no comfort in this book. Kauper is thoroughly sympathetic toward libertarian values, but (in my view) he punctures beyond rehabilitation Mr. Justice Black's claim of objectivity. Doubtless, Kauper felt the shock of sympathetic recognition in Thomas Reed Powell's final summation: " [What] I most object to in many Justices is something that springs from a feeling of judicial duty to try to make out that their conclusions come [plainly and unequivocally] from the Constitution."

Wallace Mendelson
The University of Texas

MORTON A. KAPLAN: *System and Process in International Politics*. New York, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1957. 280 pages.

This is an unusual and brilliant work. It is hard to read and to understand, not for want of clarity but because the subject matter is extremely difficult. Kaplan constructs models of six international systems: (1) the balance-of-power system; (2) the loose bipolar system; (3) the tight bipolar system; (4) the universal system; (5) the hierarchical system in its directive and nondirective forms (the directive form functions according to authoritarian rules, the nondirective according to democratic rules); and (6) the

unit-veto system. He acknowledges that only the first two have thus far had historical counterparts. Of the balance-of-power system, the pre-First World War period is a historical illustration, with England, France, Germany, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Italy, and the United States having the role of essential national actors. The loose bipolar system has a historical counterpart in the present era. Kaplan describes each of the models from the standpoint of the structure, membership, role functions, behavior, and environmental conditions necessary to sustain the system.

Having constructed these system models, the author then discusses the processes by which these systems are controlled, the forces which are integrative and those which are disintegrative. All social systems manifest such process. The distinguishing feature of the international system in its balance-of-power and bipolar phases is that no political subsystem settles jurisdictional disputes within the system. This gives strength to the disintegrative tendencies within both the balance-of-power and the loose bipolar system phases.

The analysis of the system and process are related in the third section to value theory, the values of a system being defined as the objectives which would satisfy its needs. It is possible to determine scientifically what a system values and what is valuable for the system. Kaplan holds that national interests are objective and are as many in number as there are national needs. This provides the setting for a discussion of "passions" and "interests" and of whether there is a community of interests in the international system so

that a concept of the just may also have relevance.

The fourth section of the book concerns the theory of strategy, enlivened by parallels from the theory of games.

Brilliant as the book is, it has utility over only a narrow range of problems and for a limited number of specialists. The construction and analysis of alternate models is a familiar method in economics, as the author is aware. The usefulness of the method is limited in economics and seems likely to be even more limited in international politics. Consider the extent to which the circumstances of a game obtain in the circumstances of international politics. The author cites many limitations on the applicability of game theory, including the fact that the rules of politics may be changed in the midst of the game, either constitutionally or by force. After these and other limitations are catalogued, the reader may wonder whether the narrow limits of the parallel are worth all the difficult effort in defining it. In this statement the reviewer may seem like a Philistine, a junior egghead rebelling against the superior force of super eggheadism. For my own part, I will mix only a pinch of alternate-model analysis with great measures of descriptive, historical, and biographical analysis of actual situations in international politics.

Paul Green
Baylor University

LEV E. DOBRIANSKY: *Veblenism: A New Critique*. Washington, D.C., Public Affairs Press, 1957. 409 pages. \$6.00.

Dobriansky's main purpose is to present Veblen's ideas as a systematic body of thought, but he also proposes an-

other set of ideas which he hopes will aid in the integration of the social sciences and provide a middle ground between totalitarianism and the socially disintegrative tendencies of *laissez faire*.

Dobriansky is particularly critical of Veblen's attacks on the medieval "Schoolmen." He argues that the *Philosophia Perennis* of this period is much more balanced than modern philosophy, of which Veblen is representative, because the former contains both operationalist and essentialist strands. Certain philosophical abstractions derived from the essentialist movement are reputed to have universal and objective validity. The other strand is more conscious of change, development, the concrete, and personality. These two components of the *Philosophia Perennis* check and reinforce each other, producing, according to Dobriansky, a truly middle-way philosophy.

The author argues that many mistakes in modern thought in general, and that of Veblen in particular, are due to the concentration on the empirical aspects of the *Philosophia Perennis* and a rejection of the essentialist. He maintains that the net result of Veblen's train of thought is "the denial of being and, therefore, of order and unity in reality. . . . Veblen's orientation toward reality permits, therefore, no teleology in the broad events occurring in objective existence."

Dobriansky contends that science must be based upon metaphysics because dynamic causal relationships cannot be explained without some idea of constancy and being. He also argues that Veblen's philosophy ends in vague idealism because it fails to account for things as they are. "Under the twin

pressure of workmanship and material serviceability the Veblenian technocracy is supposed to produce that measure of physical abundance which, it is naively assumed, will insure the impersonal resolution of our many problems in human relations."

We cannot possibly do justice here to Dobriansky's valuable contribution to institutional thought, his philosophical justification of the need for both factual and theoretical methodology, and his construction of the fundamentals of Veblen's underlying philosophy and how it influenced his functional thought.

The author's practically unlimited defense of medieval philosophy is questionable, though it is probably true that Veblen's attack on the "Schoolmen" is also too extreme. The reviewer also questions Dobriansky's contention that science must be grounded in essentialist metaphysics. It does not seem necessary to establish constancy and being before change and causation can be explained. It seems quite possible to have theoretical constructs as measures of relative change without assuming that these constructs must themselves have objective reality. Rates of change can be compared with theoretical constructs and with each other. Furthermore, this reviewer is convinced that metaphysical systems are based largely on the experiences, hopes, fears, and aspirations of their adherents; since these causal factors are different, it stands to reason that metaphysical speculations based upon them will necessarily be different. Veblen is probably correct in his contention, rejected by Dobriansky, that each man is entitled to his own philosophy.

F. Ray Marshall
Louisiana State University

MILTON DERBER and EDWIN YOUNG (eds.): *Labor and the New Deal*. Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1957. 393 pages. \$6.00.

Labor and the New Deal is a collection of essays by members of the Department of Economics of the University of Wisconsin and the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations of the University of Illinois. The essays deal with the impact and influence of the "climate of opinion" which produced the New Deal, and which, in turn, was nurtured as long as possible by the New Deal. This influence is shown on several of the many subjects ordinarily treated in an undergraduate course in labor economics. The impact and influence of labor, as institutionalized in trade unions, on the New Deal is also treated in several of the essays.

The most important developments and events affecting labor during the New Deal were (1) the increase in trade-union membership, (2) the split of the trade-union movement into two rival and warring groups, (3) the New Deal legislation directly affecting trade-union growth, and (4) the New Deal legislation designed to give labor more economic security. All these subjects are discussed in considerable detail in one or more of the essays.

Since the contents of a book of this sort are determined in part, if not largely, by the current interests of the contributors whom the editors include, other subjects such as "Impact of the Political Left," "Management Policies Toward Unionism," and "Collective Bargaining" are also present. Selig Perlman, whose influence is evident in the assumptions (listed in the Foreword) which all the authors accepted as the underlying philosophical and

theoretical basis for their studies, contributes a not very profound essay designed to demonstrate a not very profound conclusion, namely, that "the events of the 1930's despite their dramatic and far-reaching character are understandable only in the light of the full stream of American labor history."

In spite of the obvious, and, by the nature of the exercise, to be expected shortcomings, e.g., repetition, uneven treatment and different levels of writing (some of the essays are as pedestrian and unimaginative as a Ph.D. dissertation), this volume will make a useful addition to a parallel-reading list in undergraduate labor economics courses.

Ernest F. Patterson
Davidson College

JOHN DUFFY (ed.): *Parson Clapp of the Strangers' Church of New Orleans*. Louisiana State University Studies, Social Science Series Number Seven, Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1957. 191 pages. \$8.00.

This capably edited study, based on the subject's *Autobiographical Sketches and Recollections, During a Thirty-Five Years' Residence in New Orleans* (Boston, 1857), should interest historians concerned with New Orleans, medicine, and religion.

As minister for a third of a century in leading Presbyterian congregations of the Crescent City, Theodore Clapp (1792-1866) emulated other New Englanders in finding a congenial place in Southern society. He knew the Jewish philanthropist Judah Touro, relished the company of Catholic clergymen, condescended kind words for Methodist and Baptist preachers, and

cultivated friendships with physicians. Clapp's valiant service through cholera and yellow fever epidemics won him thoroughgoing approval and gave him the occasion for writing what Duffy calls "first-rate" additions to the "grim accounts" of plague literature. The Parson's vivid descriptions depend more on recollection or on writings of his doctor friends than on diary or contemporary notes, yet he catches the feel of life in the stricken city.

Minister of the First Presbyterian Church in New Orleans, Clapp found his theological opinions swinging away from Calvinist orthodoxy. The resulting heresy trials, resulting in his expulsion from Presbytery in 1832, he glosses over, but Duffy has ably reconstructed the events. With a majority of his flock, Clapp formed the First Congregational (later First Congregational Unitarian) Church, reigning supreme for another quarter-century. He loved adulation and protested only mildly at his listing among the city's prime tourist attractions—"the American theatre, the French opera, and Parson Clapp's church." Without Sunday school, ladies' aid, and the like, the congregation accepted the Parson's inflated romantic sermons (described by one hearer as "original without head or tail discourses") and his admitted "numerous peculiarities."

Duffy contributes an able introduction (one-third of the volume), brief end-notes, and a serviceable index (no entry for "Clapp, Theodore"), and includes a portrait, views of Clapp's church edifices, and a facsimile title page of the *Autobiographical Sketches*. The lithoprint process may account for the dozen typographical errors. While "fundamentalism" comes fifty years after Clapp, Duffy deserves commenda-

tion for pruning more than half the Parson's wordiness and for evaluating the man. Clearly he had "immense egotism," he may have occasionally been "constitutionally unable to distinguish the truth," he may even have suffered from arteriosclerosis. But how can we know that Clapp was "a true paranoiac"?

Theodore L. Agnew
Oklahoma State University

LEOPOLD KOHR: *The Breakdown of Nations*. New York, Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1957. 244 pages. \$4.00.

"... society's behavior is the consequence not of evil schemes or evil disposition but of the power that is generated by excessive social size." Even the cause of war fits into this unique formula. "For whenever a nation becomes large enough to accumulate the critical mass of power, it will in the end accumulate it. And when it has acquired it, it will become an aggressor, its previous record and intentions to the contrary notwithstanding."

Although Kohr applies his yardstick to all phases of social life, he is primarily concerned with the concentration of political power. His thesis is a plea for the creation of small political units similar to the areas that existed before the unification of the European states. For those who insist that our salvation lies in unity rather than division, he proposes that representation in any world system be based upon the small medieval unit rather than upon the present state system, for these small areas would be capable of conducting no more than limited war—similar to the

"comic opera wars" of the Middle Ages.

The author believes that Huey Long was merely an irritant in American life because the smallness of the state and federalized structure within which he operated afforded but little power; Hitler, on the other hand, was able to bring misery to the world because of the power he was able to garner from a state the size of Germany.

For all political scientists interested in the good life, this single theory of Kohr should at least be intriguing, if not acceptable to some. The burden of proof, however, would seem to be with his contention that "all social miseries" result from bigness. The simplicity of the author's approach will cause many to reject his thesis without the careful examination and disputation that his efforts and scholarship deserve. The empire builders—public, private, and academic—will condemn it as unprogressive. But Kohr makes a good case for his belief that the age of bigness is culturally barren, and that our so-called "higher" standard of living is merely an illusion that will not bear close comparison with the accomplishments of the small-state world of ancient Greece or the Middle Ages.

Sterling H. Fuller
Texas Technological College

HANS GERTH (ed. and trans.): *The First International: Minutes of the Hague Congress of 1872 with Related Documents*. Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1958. 315 pages. \$6.00.

The Hague Congress of the First International was the turning point in the history of that organization. It represented the personal victory of Karl Marx over his anarchist opponents, led

by Bakunin, and saw the termination of the First International as a functioning group. Following the Hague Congress, the seat of the International was transferred to New York, where it languished in impotency until its final dissolution in 1876. Although the expulsion of Bakunin and the transference of the headquarters of the International were victories for Marx and his followers, Marx himself did not emerge with credit from the proceedings. The tactics he employed to gain his end showed that he was willing to resort to personal attack on, and unfounded vilification of, a rival in order to bring him down and that he was likewise content to pronounce what he must have known would be the death sentence of the International in order to prevent its falling under the influence of his doctrinal opponents.

What exactly went on in the sessions at the Hague has in general been known to students of the International through private memoranda and reports drawn up by the delegates. Lost, however, were any recorded minutes of the debates. This loss has now been rectified by the publication of the *Minutes of the Hague Congress* found among the papers of Hermann Schuler and presented to the University of Wisconsin Library by William E. Walling in 1910. The authorship remains unknown, although the editor suggests that they were written by a partisan of Marx. In this book we are presented with a photostatic reproduction of the original manuscript, accompanied by an English translation by the editor. Included also is a reproduction and translation of Sorge's *Report to the North American Federation*, and Maltman Barry's *Report of the Fifth Annual General Congress*.

These latter two documents have been

difficult to obtain and are useful adjuncts to the basic minutes. The *Minutes* themselves fill a gap in the documentation on the First International and serve as a standard of comparison for judging the accuracy of other summaries of the events which took place at the Hague in 1872.

While not resulting in any startling new discoveries, the publication of this work is a modest contribution to the literature on the First International and will be of considerable interest to scholars in the field. The appended biographical glossary is both convenient and useful.

H. Malcolm Macdonald
The University of Texas

LEE SIMMONS: *Assignment Huntsville*.
Austin, University of Texas Press,
1957. 233 pages. \$4.75.

In this attractive little volume, one of the outstanding managers of the Texas Prison System tells his story. Although Lee Simmons attended the University of Texas for three years, it is unlikely that he took a course in criminology; yet his experiences and his natural ability combined to enable him to be a success in the difficult position of manager of the Texas Prison System.

The legislature established the penitentiary in 1849, and until the reforms set up by Simmons in the early 1930's the system was a sore thumb in Texas government. The prison system during this early period was usually characterized by inefficient management that involved politics, a lack of understanding of the proper way to treat prisoners, and just plain corruption. When Simmons became manager in 1930, he was assured that there would be no more politics involved in the prison system. He inaugurated modern sanitary facilities;

a lawful handling of all prisoners and their problems; recreational opportunities were begun, which included the establishment of the famous Texas Prison Rodeo; a prison school was planned; every prisoner except those in the death cells was forced to work; and Simmons, perhaps as an afterthought, employed a psychiatrist to serve the prison system. No pretense is made to discuss all the problems involved in prison management; for example, very little is said about self-mutilation, and nothing about other social offenses.

The year 1934 was the "golden age of crime" in the United States, and Texas experienced her share of desperate criminals. The story of Clyde Barrow and Bonnie Parker is told as they helped Raymond Hamilton and other criminals in a prison escape. In the story of Hamilton, which led to the electric chair, Simmons shows the co-operation of Governor Miriam Ferguson. Paroles and pardons, as a reward for good behavior, had an important place in the Simmons prison program and he was critical, in a general way, of governors who did not follow a liberal policy. Simmons did not openly express his opinion of Governor Ross Sterling, but it is known that Sterling granted comparatively few pardons and paroles.

Simmons, in at least one instance, told of an individual, Oliver Ross, whom he did not properly identify and he wrote of Wellington, Oklahoma, when he meant Wellington, Texas.

After reading *Assignment Huntsville*, one gains a new respect for an honest, able, and sincere prison manager, for able and honest peace officers, and for courageous prison guards.

C. K. Chamberlain
Stephen F. Austin State College

RUTH LOCKE ROETTINGER: *The Supreme Court and State Police Power: A Study in Federalism*. Washington, D. C., Public Affairs Press, 1957. 252 pages. \$4.50.

It would be easy to surmise that a "daughter of the South," writing her doctoral dissertation on Constitutional law relating to the police power of the states would, in these critical times, produce a torrid treatise on the Supreme Court's treatment of that area of government. The author calmly allays that suspicion in discussing more than five hundred cases decided by the Court since 1930. She lets the Supreme Court have its say in its own language, using the essential substance of the majority opinions and significant minority opinions in the more controversial issues.

Following two introductory chapters dealing with federalism and a judicial review of state police-power prior to 1930, the author proceeds with the record of the Court. She follows a double scheme in the discussion. One is a classification of the areas or interests affected, the second is chronological, arranged according to the terms of the Chief Justices. Frequent numerical summaries are supplied on Court decisions made within each era, according to the classified scheme. In two chapters near the end of the book appear recapitulations of the total number of decisions for and against state statutes, according to the first and second schedules. The plan is laudable and is rigorously and systematically followed throughout the book. While it is true, as she admits, that the numerical count does not indicate the true weight of the decisions, it does present an interesting insight to the volume of questions resolved by the Court and to the different areas of interests affected.

In the final chapter, by far the most interesting and incisive, the author effectively marshals an array of impressive arguments and criticisms made by competent authorities on Constitutional law, pointing to the conclusion that (1) the Supreme Court has progressively usurped both the legislative and the constituent functions, particularly in the integration cases; (2) in these cases it declined to follow the "Jim Crow" precedent; (3) the Court refused to apply a rule of statutory interpretation based on the "legislative intent" of Congress in framing and of the state conventions in adopting the "equal protection" clause when applied to public-school students; (4) the Court handed down a decision, not based on law, but merely a psychological and sociological decree.

In reply to these arguments the Court can agree that it did ignore an early precedent in segregation of the races and adhered to recent precedents at the college level; it can admit the charge of judicial legislation, for it has been compelled to indulge in it in order to interpret the law; it can agree that it has wide discretion in evaluating documentary evidence on legislative intent, and that psychology and sociology are integral parts of our cultural, political, and juristic experience. It is obvious, though, that the Court failed to handle these aspects as well as it does legal questions.

What has happened is that the Court judicially smashed a long-standing Southern tradition of belief and practice, a product of both rationalization and emotional preference, an integral part of their experience and accepted as valid enough to be regarded as guides for conduct.

This review should not close, however, without reference to some obstacles a studious reader will encounter.

A dissertation should be objective and scientific in assembling and discussing its material—a standard well met in this book—yet the simple reiteration of salient facts and the gist of the statute, plus a concise summary of opinions, page after page, is somewhat disturbing to the mind of even a person who is fond of Constitutional law. A pause for "legal dissection and weighing" of cases would relieve the tension of the reader. Again, the names of the cases have no footnote reference to the volume and page in the Court reports. The same remark applies to the names of authors quoted from time to time. The Bibliography, given according to chapters, does not facilitate search for exactitude. Finally, the Index is disappointing because of its incompleteness; it does not contain enough references to subjects or topics of discussion.

This is a sturdy volume that should be read slowly, absorbingly, for the best rewards.

Harvey H. Guice
Dallas, Texas

HANS SPEIER and W. PHILLIPS DAVIDSON (eds.): *West German Leadership and Foreign Policy*. Evanston, Ill., Row, Peterson and Company, 1957. 323 pages. \$7.00.

Written under the auspices of the Rand Corporation, this collection of essays by seven American observers of the German political scene is intended to contribute to "our knowledge about the foreign policy decisions German leaders are likely to make as the range of possibilities open to them increases." Most of the essays, some of which have already appeared in the learned journals, draw heavily from interviews conducted between 1952 and 1955 with several hundred leaders of both public and pri-

vate groups directly involved in the influencing and formulating of West German foreign policy.

Among the points emerging from Samuel L. Wahrhaftig's tracing of the development of the West German foreign-policy institutions are that Chancellor Adenauer is not only "the strongest single influence in the making of foreign policy, but, in fact, the dominant influence," that the career bureaucracy plays a lesser role in making of foreign policy than did its counterpart in the pre-Nazi era, and that the ability of the *Bundestag* to exercise control over foreign policy is quite limited.

In his discussion of party leaders and foreign policy, Henry J. Kellermann seeks to reveal the attitudes of the leaders of the various political parties, particularly the CDU-CSU and the SPD, toward the United States, France, and Britain, as well as to examine the leading tenets of the foreign-policy orientation of these leaders. Kellermann suggests that there is general agreement among leaders of all major parties that Germany's future is bound to that of an integrated Europe, but the motivations of such an attitude and the approaches to be taken in achieving this goal present manifold points of divergence.

John H. Herz, in his treatment of the political views of the West German civil service, offers the mildly hopeful conclusion that although the "typical" German civil servant is uncommitted ideologically, this lack of commitment might be channeled, given the time and proper circumstances, into a genuinely democratic course. Unduly hasty rearmament or serious economic difficulties, however, could divert this development into authoritarian channels.

Otto Kirchheimer's analysis of the foreign and domestic policies of the West German trade unions points up

what is the gravest threat to Germany's future as a constitutional democracy: the lack of "popularization" of German politics. While Kirchheimer suggests that German labor is the most significant potential force in the shaping of a democratic German society, its actual participation in the formulation of public policy is narrowly circumscribed in the present official configuration of Germany's political process.

Gabriel A. Almond's examination of the politics of German business—a pioneering effort, incidentally, in analyzing the political role of West German business-interest groups—leads to the general conclusion that business leaders are still wed to a rather narrow interest-approach to politics, that they find the greatest political motivation in a desire for stability, and that they are particularly distrustful of adventurism in politics, both domestic and international.

This volume is concluded with two informative essays by W. Phillips Davidson on the mass media in West German political life and the trends over the past ten years in West German public opinion.

All the contributions are of a high scholarly level and have been exposed to a polished editorial supervision. The study does suffer, however, from a lack of focus, in spite of its avowed concentration on foreign-policy attitudes. Whatever its minor shortcomings, this book is a mine of information on the sources of influence and the mechanics of the present-day West German political processes.

Ronald F. Bunn
The University of Texas

F. M. G. WILLSON: *The Organization of British Central Government 1914-*

1956. London, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1957. 457 pages 32s.

This study, sponsored by the Royal Institute of Public Administration, covers the First World War, the interwar years, the Second World War, and the decade after 1946. The First World War required the urgent adaption of a government that had dealt primarily with internal law and order, defense of the realm, and foreign relations, into an organization competent to wage mass-scale war. The interwar era was partly spent in turning nostalgically to old concepts in the midst of new conditions; however, seeds for the machinery needed to cope with mass unemployment, depression, and finally rearmament were kept or developed. The Second World War accelerated the process of administrative growth and revitalization.

Postwar economic and social considerations took on the same massive scale for peacetime that military demands had taken earlier. The state now assumes the responsibility for operating, controlling, or creating a climate to encourage industries and has built its agencies accordingly, not without difficulty and opposition.

Concern with the "life of the individual citizen" and the general "environment" has become significantly more important. Despite misgivings or utopian claims, the Welfare State has been accepted and the governmental structure altered to accommodate this policy. By no means all of the planning and action took place after 1945. Health, education, pensions, unemployment, and benefits have been of concern during most of the twentieth century. Housing and town and country planning took on new significance, especially as an aftermath of war.

New policies and emphases in external affairs and defense have shifted from comparatively simple organization to complicated interrelated provisions for commonwealth, colonies, international organization, and mass military forces. Interservice rivalries have been of concern in Britain as elsewhere and co-ordination rather than complete unification has evolved.

Government involvement in scientific research has increased both in scope and in degree, under the over-all responsibility of the Lord President. This scheme maintains constitutional processes while providing for relatively independent research.

The complex task of co-ordinating under a Cabinet system has accentuated the following techniques: fiscal and civil service co-ordination through the Treasury, a Cabinet Secretariate, anonymous Cabinet committees, and the appointment of ministers to co-ordinate the operations of several ministries, which may then be dropped from the Cabinet.

The author ends upon the optimistic note that British government has, despite its imperfections, remained sufficiently flexible to adapt to new stresses and strains while remaining traditional enough to preserve its constitutional trappings.

From the reviewer's perspective, the volume has combined effectively the difficult task of chronicling detailed changes of structure with considerable causative interpretation without boring the reader and within a relatively small number of pages. Mature students will find the results to be helpful in maintaining an overview of British administrative organization for the past forty years. Ample documentation, an excellent bibliographical note, and a complete table of changes enhance the value

of the book. This is not, however, the book to use for one's first excursion into the literature of British government.

S. M. Kennedy
Texas Technological College

SAMUEL ABRAHAMSEN: *Sweden's Foreign Policy*. Washington, D. C., Public Affairs Press, 1957. 99 pages. \$2.50.

In this rather brief volume, Abrahamson analyzes Sweden's efforts to maintain her security in the face of twentieth-century major-power conflicts. Confronted by the crises of the interwar period, the Russo-Finnish War of 1939-40, Germany's invasion of Norway, the renewal of the Russo-Finnish War in 1941, and the present-day Cold War, Sweden has sought security through a policy of "flexible neutrality." To some, "flexible neutrality" appears to be a contradiction in terms; thus, the primary aim of the author is to clarify the concept of neutrality as the Swedes themselves interpret it.

Viewed as a principle of international law and morality which demands impartiality toward power conflicts, Sweden's concept of neutrality does indeed seem inconsistent. Her support of sanctions as a member of the League of Nations, her wartime refusal to permit French and British troops to cross Swedish territory while according German troops the privilege, and her wartime assistance to Norway and Finland are hardly evidences of impartiality. Moreover, Sweden's rejection of membership in NATO was accompanied by efforts to use "neutrality" as a positive instrument for neutralizing all of Scandinavia.

As the author suggests, however, neutrality for Sweden has never been interpreted as a hard-and-fast

principle to be pursued as an end in itself. Rather, the primary objective for Swedish statesmen has been the preservation of their country's territorial and political independence. Neutrality has been only the means for achieving this higher end. As a means, therefore, it has been shifted and adjusted to meet the exigencies of the external power-configuration of the moment. It is in these terms that Sweden's concept of neutrality can be understood and perhaps appreciated. For those who believe that in a world of conflicting nation-states each state must seek first to preserve its own national interests, this explanation will suffice.

The brevity of this book and the limitations which the author sets for himself preclude a comprehensive treatment of Sweden's foreign policy. Those who seek such a treatment must look elsewhere. Moreover, it is only too obvious that neutrality as a policy cannot serve as a general guide for foreign policy by disregarding the particular geographic, social, and power factors which characterize the position of Sweden. It is the underlying basis of this policy, that is, primary concern for the national interests, which constitutes a general lesson for statesmen everywhere. Thus, by clarifying this basis, the author has made a significant contribution to the understanding of international politics.

Robert F. Smith

Southern Methodist University

DEXTER PERKINS: *The American Way*. Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1957. 141 pages. \$2.75.

This volume is based on lectures given by the author at Cornell University. Viewing the American scene, he isolates four ideological currents (conservatism, liberalism, radicalism, and

socialism) which have combined to create the "American Way." The result is a remarkably impartial summary of the contribution of each of these movements, viewed from the standpoint of its influence on American development. Notable is the treatment of conservatism, in which Perkins presents a saner and more balanced appreciation of its significance than is usually found in current literature on the subject.

Conservatism in America either has been minimized as an influence by writers of a liberal bent or has been so over-rarified by its defenders as to lose any relationship to the actualities of the American scene. Perkins avoids both these pitfalls and does much to clarify the really fundamental importance of conservatism in the evolution of our national life. He views radicalism and socialism as less persuasive but still significant factors in American history, pointing out that both have performed the function of a gadfly to our tendency toward complacency and acceptance of the *status quo*. Liberalism occupies a spot mid-way between conservatism on one hand and radicalism and socialism on the other, with the general American temperament tending to gravitate toward a liberal-conservative center. The American Way emerges from all of this characterized by its elasticity and adaptability, its capacity to accommodate all four traditions into a working whole, and, for the author, in this lies the genius of the American solution. One might question whether this compromise solution can be a continuing one. Is it not possible that its success has been due to the youth and expansiveness of our society? And is it not equally probable that with a maturing of our culture the compromises of the past may in the future not be so easily effected or maintained? The author thinks not, and

it is to be devoutly hoped that he is correct, but the possibility remains. The reader will find this little book interesting, informative, and a pleasant way to spend an evening's leisure.

H. Malcolm Macdonald
The University of Texas

EMMETTE S. REDFORD (ed.): *Public Administration and Policy Formation*. Austin, Texas, University of Texas Press, 1957. 319 pages. \$5.75.

Traditional studies in public administration have emphasized management, generalizing on organization, co-ordination, methods, personnel, budget, control, and related topics. A major premise of this approach has been, of course, the universality of the topics catalogued, and the applicability of the generalizations to most administrative situations. This has been particularly evident in the work of both Hoover Commissions, and is typical of most textbooks in public administration.

More recently another approach, one which has stressed the plural factors and forces converging in particular administrative decisions, has grown in importance. Regarding the traditional studies, with their concern for structure and form as unrealistic, this approach has tended to focus on decision-making, often recording the results of investigation in case studies of particular administrative situations. These avoided all but operationally oriented generalizations.

Both of these approaches, however, have tended to minimize the impact and significance of program content and program issues. Both have tended to assume that the things government is seeking to accomplish are neutral elements in the administrative process. It is at this point that the present volume

adds a significant dimension by stressing the programmatic elements in administration and revealing "the inseparability of policy and administration, dynamics and mechanics, purpose and technique." In examining policy formation in five substantive fields, the goal of the volume is to treat each subject as part of a broader movement of social forces and to reflect both the response of administration to social situations and the impact of administration on the course of events.

Each of the five studies is by a different author: "Administrative Control of Petroleum Production in Texas," by York Y. Willbern; "National Regulation of the Natural-Gas Industry," by Ralph K. Huitt; "Supervision of Banking by the Comptroller of the Currency," by Guy Fox; "The Lower Colorado River Authority," by Comer Clay; and "The Investigatory Function of the Federal Trade Commission, 1933-1953," by Hugh M. Hall, Jr.

The book was edited by Emmette S. Redford, but his contribution was considerably greater than that of the usual editor since all five studies were initiated under his direction as University of Texas Ph.D. dissertations.

It is hoped that this pioneer work will stimulate other studies similarly emphasizing programmatic elements of administration, for perhaps in this way a neglected aspect of the administrative process will receive its due attention, and more adequate generalizations on that process result.

Norman Wengert
University of Maryland

PHILIP M. GLICK: *The Administration of Technical Assistance: Growth in the Americas*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1957. 390 pages, \$5.50.

This study, the third in a series of evaluative reports sponsored by the National Planning Association under a grant by the Ford Foundation, is the first complete examination of the administrative organization and management of the technical-assistance programs maintained in Latin America by public agencies—the programs of the United States, the United Nations, and the Organization of American States. Drawing from his own experience both as a practitioner and as an observer in the field as well as that of many of his colleagues, the author reviews separately the operation of these three programs, using several case studies for illustrative purposes. He describes the structural organization and operational features of each program, points out both their achievements and shortcomings, explores alternatives in program planning in terms of their feasibility and political acceptability, and formulates judgments and recommendations for making the administration of the programs more effective in the future.

In the case of the bilateral program of the United States, major attention is given to its origins and history, the various instruments by which effective technical co-operation with Latin America can be accomplished, the requirements, organization and procedure of program planning, the problems of personnel administration, and the features of the administrative structure both in Washington and within the host countries. In the section dealing with United Nations activities, special emphasis is placed on the basic administrative question of whether its technical-assistance programs should be highly integrated, operated virtually independently of each other through the various specialized agencies, or co-ordinated by a single UN agency with a substantial

degree of operational autonomy vested in the respective agencies. The program of the OAS, in view of its relatively recent inception, the modest scope of its operations, and its less complicated problems of administration, is given comparatively little attention, though the potentialities of that program are viewed with considerable favor. The book concludes with the examination of the relationship between the bilateral (U.S.) and multilateral (UN and OAS) types of programs, showing how all these channels can be utilized in achieving a common goal without undue duplication of their activities.

This reviewer is particularly impressed by the objectivity of the author in his examination of such a controversial administrative question. The author recognizes that the magnitude of the problems encountered in the administration of technical-assistance programs has resulted in no little frustration, but he believes that the intrinsic value of the programs as a "crucial aspect of American foreign policy" makes it imperative that continuing efforts be made to improve the efficiency of their administration and operation, and he gives freely of valid, constructive criticism toward that end. This highly illuminating report will undoubtedly prove beneficial as a practical guide to public policy-makers and administrators who are concerned with improving the efficiency of technical-assistance programs in Latin America and elsewhere; its clarity of style and relatively nontechnical treatment of the subject also recommend it to the interested layman.

Horace V. Harrison
University of Maryland

SELIG ADLER: *The Isolationist Impulse: Its Twentieth-Century Re-*

action. New York, Abelard-Schuman, Inc., 1957. 538 pages. \$6.75.

The writing of diplomatic history, once the most staid and conservative of all areas of historical endeavor, has been undergoing a profound change in recent years. A few years ago, the historian of American foreign policy would confine his research to the vast quantity of archival material and then present his reader with a dry summary of day-by-day diplomatic maneuvering. While such studies helped enlighten the specialist, they failed to reveal the dynamics of policy formation—the ideas and beliefs that governed the formal negotiation. In his admirable summary of the isolationist ideology, Adler has written a model study that represents the new departure in diplomatic history. Forsaking the archives, he has explored the ideas and actions of statesmen, publicists, and pressure groups in order to explain the fundamental beliefs that have influenced the re-emergence and decline of isolationism in twentieth-century America.

The outline of the story Adler traces is familiar—the resurgence of isolationism with the defeat of the League of Nations, its growth and dominance in the interwar years, the “great debate” that ended only with the attack on Pearl Harbor, and the unsuccessful efforts to recreate the isolationist tradition in the years of the Cold War. What is fresh and significant is the approach. Using periodicals, private letters, and public speeches, Adler analyzes the arguments of the isolationist leaders. What emerges is not only a reasoned critique of isolationist thought but, more important, an understanding of the fundamental appeal of isolationism for the American people. For a nation inexperi-

enced in the complexities and difficulties of world power, the yearning for nonentanglement in the rivalries of nations, whether democratic or totalitarian, becomes intelligible, if not excusable. Thus one can understand how a liberal and progressive such as Charles Beard and William Borah could find common ground with conservatives like Herbert Hoover and Robert Taft in a passionate desire to escape from the responsibilities of world leadership. The eventual decline of isolationism could come only when the Cold War helped educate the American people in the realities of world power—when all but the die-hard nationalists realized that survival in an atomic age made abstention from the world a suicidal alternative for American policy.

Adler's study is not without flaws. Attempting to broaden the appeal of the book, he at times lapses into a flowery and overblown style that bogs down in extended metaphors. More serious is his superficial treatment of the 1930's, the zenith of twentieth-century isolationism. In one brief chapter he attempts to dissect the complexity of this decade—a period which witnessed the sensational Nye munitions investigation, the annual antiwar strikes on college campuses, and the naïve attempt to legislate against war. These and other symbols of attempted national suicide are described but not fully developed or explained. However, in his basic objective—to provide understanding of the isolationist impulse that has deeply influenced American foreign policy in the twentieth century—Adler has achieved a major triumph.

Robert A. Divine
The University of Texas

RAYMOND WALTERS, JR.: *Albert Gallatin: Jeffersonian Financier and Diplomat*. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1957. 461 pages. \$7.00.

At long last, Alexander Hamilton's chief fiscal rival has a worthy biography. Unlike Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, whose lives have been frequently written and ably appraised, the third member of the triumvirate that led the Republicans to victory in 1800 and guided the nation's destinies for many years thereafter had been shamefully neglected. Except for the brief commentary by Henry Adams, published in 1879 to accompany three volumes of letters and writings, and except for the even briefer sketch by John A. Stevens, printed in 1884 to meet the requirements of the *American Statesman* series. Gallatin's career has had to be pieced together from general histories, monographs, or the biographies of his contemporaries.

Walters, book-review editor of the *Saturday Review*, now sets things aright with a comprehensive, balanced, and well-written work that is based upon a thorough research in the sources and a judicious use of secondary accounts. A particular virtue of his volume is that it illuminates not only Gallatin's substantial achievements while Secretary of the Treasury under Jefferson and Madison but also his less remembered legislative activity in Pennsylvania and the nation between 1788 and 1801 and his sometimes-forgotten diplomatic services from 1813 to 1827. Although Gallatin's contribution to the Jeffersonian cause while in Congress, to the development of sound finance while in the Cabinet, and to the formation of foreign policy while at Ghent, Paris, and London naturally claims the lion's

share of Walters' pages, the author has managed to say also a good deal about the man, about his family life, and about his intellectual interests. Best of all, he does not yield to the temptation of claiming too much for his subject, as Irving Brant has done in his multi-volume life of Madison. Walters does not feel obliged to quarrel with earlier historians who may have underrated Gallatin or to tear down other statesmen at his expense. If anything, he has been too gentle with some of Gallatin's associates—his handling of Madison on the eve of the War of 1812 being a case in point. And at times this reviewer would have welcomed the more forthright judgments and deeper insights of a Samuel F. Bemis. But all in all, Walters has done a first-rate job for which the historical profession can be grateful.

Richard W. Leopold
Northwestern University

ROBERT HOPPOCK: *Occupational Information*. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1957. 534 pages. \$6.75.

For high-school and college counselors, industrial personnel workers, and teachers and students of occupations, this book provides not only an up-to-date, comprehensive treatment of where to get and use occupational information in counseling and teaching but also a ready reference for techniques of occupational research and group presentation of occupational information. Practical discussion of sources of occupational information and how to appraise, classify, and file occupational materials are supplemented by excellent appendices on such topics as "forms used in occupational follow-ups," "outline for

the study of occupation," and "lesson plans for a graduate course in occupations for counselors." Other sections present excerpts from current theories of occupational choice and the general aspects of using occupational information in individual counseling. The scope of the book is far-reaching, including coverage of a wide variety of subjects ranging from the concrete, everyday activities of the counselor and teacher to the more abstract, theoretical formulations of occupational psychology.

Because of the omnibus nature of the book and the lack of a unifying theme running through the presentation of such diverse, often unrelated topics, continuity and integration have been subordinated to comprehensiveness and wealth of detail. The consequence is that the reader experiences increasing difficulty in assimilating the mass of material with which he is confronted as he moves from one relatively discrete, self-contained chapter to another. He is plunged, for example, into a theory of occupational choice from the preceding discussion of classifying and filing occupational information. The liability of abrupt transitions may be transformed into an asset, however, if the various chapters are reorganized more homogeneously and the new groupings are considered as treatments of fairly independent aspects of the broad area of occupational information. The loose organization of the book can thus contribute to its adaptability to special needs and purposes.

John O. Crites
The University of Texas

NELSON LEE: *Three Years among the Comanches*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1957. 179 pages. \$2.00.

The three years' captivity that inspired this narrative makes up the last half of the ninth volume of the Western Frontier Library. An unidentified ghost writer presents the experiences of Nelson Lee, a New Yorker by birth who had an exciting career even before reaching the Southwest: after serving in the Black Hawk War, he hunted pirates while in the United States Navy, helped protect American consuls in the Plata region, survived a smallpox epidemic aboard ship, lived through a hurricane and shipwreck off Key West, and after seven years of "indulging my propensity to learn of lands that lay beyond," reached Galveston and joined the Texas Navy.

From 1840 until his capture in 1855, Lee lived on the Southwestern frontier as a Texas Ranger, soldier, and horse-breaker. These years are described in some detail, with the briefest of sketches of men like Houston, Taylor, and Scott. More reliable are Lee's delineations of Ranger life, exhibiting great pride in his leaders and associates.

Following service with the Rangers, Lee turned to private employment and while horse hunting was taken prisoner by the Comanches. He alone of his party did not meet death by torture because of the Indians' astonishment at his pocket watch. This instrument had an alarm which Lee set off on occasions when he wished to impress his captors. He was kept in bondage as a curiosity, and gradually given trusty status and a bride "not quite as filthy as her companions." Other than not knowing where he was being held, Lee's recollections were clear and are most useful as a source of information on Indian work, play, and beliefs. He was appalled by an Apache-Comanche battle, and solemnly debated the merits of attempting escape to the former. Traded twice to other tribes, he

learned that he and his watch were worth 120 horses plus numerous skins. His escape was accomplished through the incredible carelessness of a Comanche chief. Lee then spent eight weeks of pitiable wandering on the Mexican desert before reaching safety.

In the introduction Walter Webb points out that the first edition of *Three Years among the Comanches* was printed in 1859, just two months after Lee reached home. The haste was due to Lee's need for an income and his desire to save some of the many white women still in Comanche hands by publicizing their plight. One is inclined to believe Lee's closing statement that he would willingly lead an expedition to save these creatures less fortunate than himself.

Thomas L. Karnes
Tulane University

M. R. LOHMAN and JOHN F. MEE (eds.): *Job Evaluation: Text and Cases*. Homewood, Ill., Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1957. 369 pages. \$6.50.

Job Evaluation is well written and for the most part, well organized. The work contains a wealth of illustrative material drawn from many authoritative sources, and the authors have included both discussion questions and short cases which will aid in stimulating class discussion of the principles presented in the text.

The reviewer feels that in a work of this kind, written presumably for advanced students of management, little is gained by taking the reader back to the period of the Middle Ages and then sketching for him the events which gave rise to the modern concept of job evaluation. Chapters One and Two could possibly have been combined, bringing

the student to immediate grips with the approach to job evaluation.

Chapters Two and Three contain discussion of factors which are extremely important preludes to the installation of a job-evaluation program.

In Chapter Two, the editors stress the point that proper planning, organizing, and communication are fundamental to the success of any job-evaluation program. Furthermore, little success with the program can be expected without employee acceptance of it. Positive suggestions, based on practical experience, are advanced to aid the student in his understanding of the basic concepts.

Chapter Three deals with union attitude toward job evaluation, an understanding of which, it is argued, is also basic to the success of a job-evaluation program.

There is an unusual departure from traditional presentation in that a separate chapter is devoted to a review of the various systems of job evaluation as presented in preceding chapters. Here, also, is set forth certain criteria for the selection from among the systems. Readers will view this chapter with mixed feeling and some will argue that the comparisons made do not warrant a separate chapter.

The specific chapters dealing with the evaluation process and the considerations involved in establishing the wage structure follow accepted practices in the field and need no additional comment.

Job Evaluation makes a worthwhile contribution to the area of job evaluation. The material is clearly and concisely presented. It is up-to-date, and the authors have drawn from their own practical experience as well as the experience of other leaders in industry, unions, and management-consulting groups. All these factors blend together

to give the student a fuller understanding of the job-evaluation area.

Leslie E. Munneke
University of Houston

ROBERT C. WEST: *The Pacific Lowlands of Colombia*. Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1957. 278 pages. \$7.50.

This monograph has two aims: to describe the Pacific lowlands of Colombia and adjacent areas, and to describe and interpret the material culture of a predominantly Negroid population that has developed in this equatorial area during the past three hundred years.

The study was made under the auspices of the Office of Naval Research and is based on field work done in Colombia and Ecuador during the summers of 1951 through 1954. Archival and library work for this monograph was done in Bogotá and Popayán, Colombia; Quito, Ecuador; and Sevilla, Spain.

The area of the study comprises the Pacific lowlands of western Colombia; the northern part of Esmeraldas Province, northwestern Ecuador; and most of the province of Darien in southeastern Panama—a strip six hundred miles long and from fifty to one hundred miles wide. This report is organized in two parts. Part I, on the physical milieu, considers surface configuration, weather and climate, vegetation, and a detailed description of the Pacific littoral. Part II, on the cultural milieu, treats mainly of the material elements that can be visually observed in the field: racial characteristics, settlement patterns, house types, resources and techniques of producing food, clothing, transportation, etc.

This definitive study is a valuable ad-

dition to geographic literature in two major ways. First, it illustrates the basic value of field work and the results of detailed observation. The author was on most of the main rivers (the main avenues of movement) and along the coastline via dugout canoe and was on the jungle trails. The maps, photographs, and detailed descriptions in the study are the direct result of this field work and add much to the clarity of the monograph. Secondly, this work fills a great gap in the literature in regard to this little-known area of the world. Not only does the reader gain an understanding of the current natural and cultural setting but also he learns of the historical development of the cultural milieu.

Other students of this area of the world will find the notes supporting each chapter, the extensive bibliography, the excellent maps, and the pertinent photographs especially valuable.

Lorrin Kennamer
The University of Texas

HANS KOHN: *American Nationalism: An Interpretive Essay*. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1957. 272 pages. \$5.00.

Kohn is the distinguished author of a number of books on nationalism and modern history. With the encouragement of the Harris Foundation Lectures at Northwestern University, he has applied his vast knowledge of his special subject to the writing of an interpretive historical account of American nationalism. Although other scholars have explored parts of the subject, no one has produced a definitive history. Merle Curti's *Roots of American Loyalty* and the volume under review come closest and are the best general treatments of

the subject. Curti's older work is a more imaginative critical analysis, ranging widely over cultural, as distinct from political, history. Kohn's book, stressing more familiar political sources, is a good topical introduction to the history of American nationalism.

The United States, as Kohn points out, is a most interesting case study in nationalism. Unlike older nations whose origins are shrouded by the cover of the dim past, the beginnings of American nationalism fall within the modern era. Lacking many of the customary attributes of a nation, the United States has nevertheless achieved real unity. The central theme in American nationalism, the author believes, has been liberty, originally the heritage of English liberty—political, economic, and religious. Following the Revolution, Americans sought emancipation from dependence on British culture, Emerson and others leading the demand for cultural nationalism. But before the United States could be consolidated as a nation, states-rights sectionalism, an extensive territorial domain, and the diversity of immigrant peoples had gradually to be assimilated. Finally, a concluding chapter turns to the role of the United States as a nation among nations, and to the decline of isolation as a mainspring of American foreign policy.

The author has dug deeply into the literature of American nationalism, quoting extensively though always interestingly. To a greater extent than Curti he relies on secondary works, but he also provides from his own research many valuable comparisons of American and European nationalism. The results are a book valuable to both the historian and the student of government. If the reviewer has any complaint, it is about Kohn's comparative neglect of the critics of American nationalism.

Pacifists, labor radicals, and social reformers, for example, by their criticisms made American nationalism a more liberal doctrine. The history of American nationalism is a great epic, but it has had its darker as well as its brighter side. Kohn's book purposely stresses the latter.

Arthur A. Ekirch, Jr.
The American University

JOHN D. MONTGOMERY: *Forced to be Free*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1957. 210 pages. \$4.50.

The thesis of this book is that Allied Occupation programs in Germany and Japan were part of an "artificial" revolution on behalf of democracy; that this effort was only partially successful; and that these Occupation experiences provide guideposts for the conduct of American foreign policy. The author concentrates on the impact of Allied purges rather than institutional reforms. Specifically, he analyzes the leadership changes in political parties, legislative bodies, the bureaucracy, business concerns, and local communities. Special attention is given to an explanation of why the purges were ineffective.

Several of Montgomery's observations are noteworthy. By means of opinion surveys, he reveals that the German and Japanese people were puzzled by the administration of the purges, skeptical of the quality of the "new" leaders that emerged, and inclined to feel that the Allied objective was to punish rather than to democratize. More discouraging, though not surprising, is the fact that the greatest hostility was encountered among the more educated and prosperous. The author also demonstrates that, with the weakening of rival groups, the position of the bureaucracy

has been greatly enhanced. He points out that, in view of their elitist complex and indifference to political values, the bureaucrats are a potential threat to democratic government. On the economic purge, Montgomery delivers his sharpest criticisms. He asserts that the purge did not affect most companies, frequently did harm to small concerns, aroused antagonism because it inconvenienced industrialists whose political activities were largely nonexistent, and failed to change the political outlook or influence of the managerial class because it left untouched the hidden connections between industry and government.

The picture painted by the author is by no means completely black. He notes that the "extremist" leaders and ideals of the old order were publicly discredited and that "some" competition has arisen between the old and new in men and ideas. These changes, he contends, are more apparent in Japan than in Germany.

With reference to the weaknesses of Occupation reforms, Montgomery emphasizes the failure to apply a theory of artificial revolution, the lack of public-information programs to eliminate misunderstandings at home and abroad, the tendency to abandon democratic reforms in order to fight Communist penetration, and the inability to stimulate the emergence of a competent new leadership. He suggests that future American policies should be based on a clear definition of objectives and a "positive" desire to strengthen democratic forces rather than on a "negative" fear of communism.

It is unfortunate that the book does not contain a comprehensive analysis of the impact of institutional reforms. The author's tendency to hope for "democratic" revolution in countries like

Germany and Japan is also questionable; probably all that can be expected is the maintenance of governments friendly to the United States and not hostile to democratic values. These are, however, minor criticisms. The book is unquestionably a contribution to our knowledge of Germany and Japan. Montgomery's comparative approach and his effective use of co-ordinated field studies by German and Japanese social scientists are especially praiseworthy. If systematically combined with historical materials, such studies may yield significant results.

James R. Soukup
The University of Texas

MARSHALL B. CLINARD: *Sociology of Deviant Behavior*. New York, Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1957. 599 pages. \$6.50.

In the words of the author, "This book is written as a text for courses usually designated as 'social problems,' 'social disorganization,' 'social pathology,' or some similar term. . . . The organization of this book has grown out of some ten years' experience teaching a course of this type."

Exclusive of a preface, a table of contents, lists of forty-four tables, three figures, and five charts, an author index and a subject index, the book has 577 pages. The twenty chapters are divided into three parts. Part I—SOCIAL DEVIATION—has the following chapters: "Social Deviation," "Deviant Behavior as Human Behavior," "Urbanism and Deviant Behavior," "Economic and Technological Factors in Social Deviation," and "Three Controversial Theories of Deviant Behavior." Part II—DEVIANT BEHAVIOR—has the following chapters: "The Nature of De-

linquency and Crimes," "Sources of Delinquent and Criminal Attitudes," "Types of Offenders: Murderers and Sex Offenders," "Career Criminals," "Drug Addiction," "Alcohol Drinking and Alcoholism," "The Functional Mental Disorders," "Suicide," "Marital and Family Maladjustment," "Role and Status Conflict in Old Age," "Minority Groups," and "Discrimination and Prejudice." Part III—DEViant BEHAVIOR AND SOCIAL CONTROL—has the following chapters: "The Reduction of Deviant Behavior," "The Group Approach to Social Reintegration," and "The Effect of War on Deviant Behavior."

Each chapter is quite extensive in the treatment of the subject. The materials are of quality, and the quotations and references are drawn from a broad source. At the end of each chapter a brief list of selected readings is given and, except for the first, each chapter has a short summary.

There is always some difference of opinion as to the particular materials to be included in a treatment of deviant behavior. In reference to his selection the author says: "I have tried to deal with certain deviations . . . to which theory and concepts derived from sociology and social psychology may be applied. Consequently, 'problems' primarily of concern to economics, political science, or public health are not discussed."

To the reviewer, this book appears to be admirably constructed and written for use as a text.

Charles N. Burrows
Trinity University

ROBERT F. BYRNES (ed.): *Yugoslavia*. New York, Frederick A. Praeger, published for the Mid-European Studies Center of the Free Europe

Committee, Inc. 1957. 488 pages. \$8.50.

STEPHEN FISCHER-GALATI (ed.): *Romania*. New York, Frederick A. Praeger, published for the Mid-European Studies Center of the Free Europe Committee, Inc. 1957. 399 pages. \$8.50.

These two books on Yugoslavia and Romania are part of the series "East-Central Europe under the Communists," with Byrnes serving as general editor. Few publications in book form have appeared about these countries, and basic material, including statistics, are scarce. In his introduction the general editor points to some of the problems the publishers of these volumes were faced with: "In a sense each chapter of each volume represents pioneer research, with all the faults and weaknesses from which such research suffers." This accounts for the large amount of valuable information in each book, but it also accounts for the absence of a detailed analysis of the information collected.

Each volume consists of four parts, with a series of summaries about leading officers of the party and the government. The book on Romania also has a brief chronology of important events between 1944-54 and a list of principal treaties between 1945-56. Both volumes have very valuable bibliographies.

The chapters are all written by different authors, all well-versed with the language and literature of their individual topics. But as is usual with such publications—almost inevitable—individual chapters are uneven in quality and scholarship.

The volume on Yugoslavia is perhaps the least satisfactory of the series. This is not the fault of the general editor; it can be traced directly to the low

priority the Mid-European Studies Center has given to collecting the material and to maintaining a research staff on Yugoslavia. Chapters are grouped under such headings as "Introduction" (containing two chapters, a brief history, and a résumé of foreign relations since 1945), "Geography and Demography," "The Government and the Party," and "The Economy." Certain obviously important topics such as religion, labor, literature, etc., either are not covered at all or are given only very incidental treatment. The general maps are of value for orientation.

Credit for the volume on Romania must go jointly to its editor, Stephen Fischer-Galati, and the various contributors. In spite of the wide variety of experience and training of the individual contributors, this volume reads on the whole as a well-organized unit. The outline generally follows that of the other books in the series. Of special value here is the section entitled "The Culture," with chapters on religion, education, literature, and the arts. As in the volume on Yugoslavia, the chapters grouped under "The Economy" seem to this reviewer above average.

Both books, in spite of obvious shortcomings, are unique and extremely valuable contributions to our contemporary knowledge—and often a very insufficient knowledge—of the changes brought about by the Second World War and the new political systems in this region inhabited by close to a hundred million people. These volumes certainly present the scholar as well as the layman with an abundance of material on an area vital to the United States. Much credit for these publications must go to the staff of the former Mid-European Studies Center and the general editor of this series.

George W. Hoffman
The University of Texas

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September, 1958

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- Stamps, Norman L.: *Why Democracies Fail*. Notre Dame, Ind., University of Notre Dame Press, 1958. 182 pages. \$4.00.
- Stieber, Jack: *Automation and the White-Collar Worker*. East Lansing, Michigan State University, Labor and Industrial Relations Center, 1958. 10 pages.
- Strayer, Martha: *The D.A.R.: An Informal History*. Washington, D.C., Public Affairs Press, 1958. 262 pages. \$3.75.
- Summary of Uniform Commercial Code Project*. Frankfort, Legislative Research Commission, 1957. 13 pages.
- Swisher, Carl Brent: *Historic Decisions of the Supreme Court*. New York, D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1958. 192 pages. \$1.25.
- Texas Resources and Industries*. Austin, Bureau of Business Research, 1958. 67 pages. \$1.00.
- Thompson, Ralph B.: *Marketing Theory*. Austin, Bureau of Business Research, 1958. 27 pages. \$0.50.
- Thorpe, Louis P., and Allen M. Schmuller: *Personality, An Interdisciplinary Approach*. New York, D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1958. 368 pages. \$5.50.
- Toward A Realistic Farm Program*. New York, Committee for Economic Development, 1957. 54 pages.
- Uniform Commercial Code: Analysis of Effects on Existing Kentucky Law*. Frankfort, Legislative Research Commission, 1957. 401 pages.
- Van Noppen, Ina Woestemeyer: *The South*. New York, D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1958. 564 pages. \$6.75.
- Vasey, Wayne: *Government and Social Welfare*. New York, Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1958. 506 pages. \$5.00.
- Warner, W. Lloyd: *A Black Civilization: A Study of an Australian Tribe*. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1958. 618 pages. \$6.50.
- Webb, Charles R., and Paul B. Schaeffer: *Western Civilization*. New York, D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1958. 442 pages. \$6.75.
- Westin, Alan F.: *The Anatomy of a Constitutional Law Case*. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1958. 183 pages. \$1.60.
- Wicks, Rollo E.: *Man and Modern Society*. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1958. 462 pages. \$6.00.
- Wilcock, Richard C., and Irvin Sobel: *Small City Job Markets*. Urbana, University of Illinois, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, 1958. 170 pages. \$3.50.
- Wren, Melvin C.: *The Course of Russian History*. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1958. 725 pages.
- Young, Roland (ed.): *Approaches to the Study of Politics*. Evanston, Ill., Northwestern University Press, 1958. 382 pages.

Zink, Harold: *Modern Governments*.
New York, D. Van Nostrand Com-
pany, Inc., 1958. 804 pages. \$6.95.

Zink, Harold, Howard R. Penniman,

and Guy B. Hathorn: *American
Government and Politics*. New
York, D. Van Nostrand Company,
Inc., 1958. 446 pages.

News and Notes

Agricultural Economics

Oklahoma State University

CLARK EDWARDS, formerly of Michigan State University, has accepted a position as assistant professor in production economics.

GEORGE C. JUDGE has been given a \$5,000 scholarship for postdoctoral study in econometrics at Yale. He has taken leave of absence to engage in the study.

Anthropology

Colorado State College

JOHN R. MICKEY has accepted a position as assistant professor.

Business Administration

University of Arkansas

W. A. HEFFELFINGER is a new member of the staff of the Bureau of Business and Economic Research.

MARTIN SCHNITZER has resigned to resume study at the University of Florida.

DARRELL SPRIGGS has been promoted to a professorship.

Baylor University

ALBERT COX has taken a leave of absence to do work at the University of California at Los Angeles.

RODERICK HOLMES has returned to his teaching position after a period of work at the University of Washington.

HELEN HOWARD has been promoted to associate professor and made chairman of the Department of Office Administration.

LESLIE A. RASNER is on leave of absence for a period of work at The University of Texas.

WILEY RICH has resigned his position at Sul Ross State College to become professor of business administration.

W. J. THOMAS, director of the Bureau of Business Research, has been promoted to a professorship.

Louisiana State University

JAMES A. CALDWELL has gone to Georgia Institute of Technology as an associate professor.

J. HERMAN BRASSEAU has accepted a position as associate professor at Louisiana Polytechnic Institute.

ERIC N. BAKLANOFF, formerly of Ohio State University, has been appointed an assistant professor of foreign trade.

JOSEPH M. BONIN has resigned to become an assistant professor of economics at the University of Arkansas.

STANLEY TODD LOWRY has accepted a position as assistant professor of economics at East Carolina College (North Carolina).

DWIGHT D. VINES has accepted an assistant professorship at Northeast Louisiana State College.

North Texas State College

The Division of Special Services has been created within the School of Business Administration to handle courses in business mathematics, introduction to business, business writing, business law, business machines, statistics, and the psychology of business.

RUTH I. ANDERSON is co-author of

Teaching Business Subjects, published in June by Prentice-Hall. She is also executive secretary of Delta Pi Epsilon, graduate fraternity in business education.

HORACE R. BROCK has taken a year's leave to teach at Ohio State University.

PAUL MCWHORTER has resigned at Texas Technological College to replace ELI P. COX as professor and chairman of the Marketing Division.

ELI P. COX has resigned to become director of the Bureau of Business Research at Michigan State University. He had been a member of the staff since 1946.

C. L. LITTLEFIELD is co-author of *Modern Office Management*, which is being published in Italian, Japanese, and Spanish, and is being recorded for use by the American Society for the Blind, according to Prentice-Hall, publishers. The book is also used as basic study material in extension programs of the National Office Management Association.

JESSE F. PICKELL, chairman of the Insurance Division, is author of *Group Disability Insurance*, recently published by Richard D. Irwin under the sponsorship of the Huebner Foundation.

HERBERT B. STELLMACHER has taken a year's leave to teach at the University of Hawaii.

GLEN L. TAYLOR has returned to the staff after three years as a Huebner Foundation fellow at the University of Pennsylvania.

CHARLES M. THOMPSON, JR., has joined the staff as an assistant professor.

FRANK A. YORK has resigned to accept a position at York College (Nebraska).

University of Oklahoma

ALLEN C. FILLEY served as visiting assistant professor of business management during the past summer session.

THEODORE P. HERRICK has been made an associate professor of accounting. He formerly was in the Tulsa office of Arthur Young and Company.

GAYLORD A. JENTZ is a new instructor in business management.

GEORGE SADLER has been appointed instructor in business management.

Phillips University

ROBERT N. GRAY has been added to the staff as an instructor of marketing and management.

NIKLOS S. NICOLSON has passed the C.P.A. examinations.

LEE SCOTT has resigned as assistant professor.

Texas Christian University

PAUL G. HASTINGS has been named Fort Worth National Bank Professor of Finance, effective with the current school year. He will continue as director of the Bureau of Business Research.

GENE C. LYNCH is joining the staff as assistant professor of finance.

HOWARD G. WIBBLE, JR., has been appointed to an instructorship.

LUCY MAE YARNELL has resigned at West Texas State to become an assistant professor of office administration.

Business Research

The minutes of the 1958 convention and the list of officers appearing in the June issue of the QUARTERLY inadvertently reversed the positions held by FRANCIS MAY, University of Texas, and PAUL RIGBY, University of Houston. Correction appears in this issue.

Economics

University of Kansas

PAUL MALONE has resigned as director of the Bureau of Business Research to devote full time to teaching public finance. E. G. NELSON will succeed him as director.

RONALD R. OLSEN, formerly of Ohio University, has become an assistant professor.

LELAND J. PRITCHARD is the author of *Money and Banking*, recently published by Houghton Mifflin.

RICHARD E. SHERIDAN is spending a sabbatical year at the London School of Economics, doing research on the early East Indian sugar trade.

University of New Mexico

ALLEN V. KNEESE has resigned to become a research economist with the Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City.

ROBERT A. ROBERTSON, formerly of the University of Arkansas, has joined the staff as assistant professor, effective in the fall semester.

University of Oklahoma

ROLF HAYN has been given a Fulbright fellowship to do research in Argentina during the coming year.

ALEXANDER KINDONASSIS has accepted a position as assistant professor.

NELSON W. PEACH, after two years at the University of Karachi, has resumed his professorship.

JIM H. REESE has taken a year's leave of absence to work with the Joint Council on Economic Education.

Texas Christian University

JERRY P. SIMPSON, formerly of the University of Oklahoma, has been appointed to an assistant professorship.

Tulane University

H. GORDON HAYES, who retired at Ohio State University in 1952 to ac-

cept a professorship at Tulane, has now retired from the latter, becoming professor emeritus of economics at both schools.

University of Texas

FREDERIC MEYERS has resigned his associate professorship to accept a professorship at the University of California at Los Angeles.

Geography

Colorado State College

JACK ALLEN HARRISON is a new assistant professor.

University of Oklahoma

ARTHUR H. DOERR was one of three instructors in charge of a summer workshop for high-school teachers of physical science. The program was supported by a grant from the National Science Foundation.

JOHN W. MORRIS taught at George Peabody College for Teachers during the summer. He is co-author of *World Geography*, published in the spring by McGraw-Hill.

RALPH E. OLSON, Department chairman, taught at the University of Nebraska during the summer session.

STEPHEN W. SUTHERLAND, formerly of the University of Illinois, has been appointed instructor, beginning with the fall semester.

Southwestern Louisiana Institute

VERNON BEHRHORST has been made an instructor.

Government

Amarillo College

JOSEPH M. RAY has become president. He is former head of the Department of Government at the University of Maryland and was dean of Special and

Continuation Studies there. More recently he has been chief of Education and Libraries Branch, Headquarters, USAF, Washington.

University of Houston

JOSEPH L. NOGEE, formerly of Yale University, has been appointed an assistant professor.

University of Oklahoma

CORTEZ A. M. EWING was a visiting professor at the University of Hawaii during the summer.

EDWIN FOGELMAN has been awarded a Rockefeller grant for the coming school year. He plans to work at Harvard.

SAMUEL KRISLOV attended the summer Conference on Judicial Process at the University of Wisconsin during June and July under a grant from the Social Science Research Council.

JOHN WOOD has been given a leave of absence to serve as a visiting member of the staff of the University of Connecticut during 1958-59.

Southwestern Louisiana Institute

EVERETT W. CUNNINGHAM, formerly of the University of Kentucky, has joined the staff as an instructor.

EDWARD B. RICHARDS, of the University of South Dakota, was a member of the staff during the summer.

Texas Technological College

STERLING H. FULLER has been promoted to professor. He was chairman of the Faculty Advisory Committee that worked with President E. N. JONES in formulating a new tenure policy for the College.

SABE M. KENNEDY has been promoted to professor. He served as general program chairman of the South-

western Social Science Association meeting held in the spring.

WILLIAM E. ODEN has been promoted to associate professor.

University of Texas

An Honors Program for undergraduate majors designed to give recognition to outstanding students and to provide them with opportunity for study under personal supervision of a member of the faculty has been inaugurated. Admission to the program is limited to students with a general grade average of 2.0 and an average of 2.5 in courses in the Department. Students in the program will pursue a special reading course in their junior year and will participate in a tutorial course in their senior year. Successful candidates will be graduated "With Honors" in government.

RUDOLPH BICANIC, of the University of Zagreb, served as a visiting professor during the spring semester, taking the place of EDWARD TABORSKY, who was on research leave. He offered a course in Government Planning and Social Change in East Europe and a proseminar in the Eastern European Studies program.

STUART A. MACCORKLE has taken leave from April 1, 1958, to February 1, 1959, to serve as head of the program in public administration at the Seoul National University of Korea. The program is under the direction of the University of Minnesota, on contract with the International Co-operation Administration, and is part of a general program designed to rehabilitate the National University.

WALLACE MENDELSON has joined the staff with the rank of professor. He has taught at the Universities of Missouri, Illinois, and Tennessee and has practiced law in Des Moines. His

writings are in both law and government.

EMMETTE S. REDFORD is on leave for the 1958-59 academic year to pursue a study of the decision-making process in national regulatory agencies. The project is supported by the Social Science Research Council. He will spend the year in Washington.

History

Colorado State College

DEAN A. ARNOLD has been added to the staff as an assistant professor.

ARTHUR A. REYNOLDS is author of the recently published *The Daniel Shaw Lumber Company*.

THOMAS STIRTON has joined the faculty as an assistant professor.

University of Kansas

GEORGE W. BECKMAN was a visiting professor at Harvard during the summer session.

ROBERT E. SCHOFIELD has been promoted to an associate professorship.

W. STITT ROBINSON is serving as program chairman of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association.

University of Missouri

STEPHEN BAXTER, a visiting assistant professor during the past year, will become assistant professor at the University of North Carolina.

KLAUS EPSTEIN, assistant professor of history at Harvard, was a visiting member of the staff during the summer.

WEYMOUTH T. JORDAN, of the University of Florida, was a visiting professor during the summer.

RICHARD KUYKENDALL, formerly of Wesleyan University, has been appointed an assistant professor.

CHARLES F. MULLETT has been

awarded the William H. Welch Medal of the American Association of the History of Medicine for his *The Bubonic Plague and England* (University of Kentucky Press, 1956). He served as visiting professor of British history at Columbia University during 1957-58.

JAMES NEAL PRIMM has resigned to become dean of Hiram College (Ohio).

Research grants have been made to the following staff members:

LEWIS ATHERTON: Social Science Research Council grant for study of leaders on the American frontier.

WALTER V. SCHOLES: American Philosophical Society grant for research in England on foreign policy of the Taft administration.

GILMAN OSTRANDER: American Philosophical Society grant for research in California on the political history of Nevada.

Books published by members of the Department during the past year include:

GILMAN OSTRANDER: *The Prohibition Movement in California, 1848-1933* (University of California Press, 1957).

DAVID H. PINCKNEY: *Napoleon III and the Rebuilding of Paris* (Princeton University Press, 1958).

WALTER V. SCHOLES: *Mexican Politics during the Juárez Regime, 1855-1872* (University of Missouri Studies, 1957).

LEWIS SPITZ: *Conrad Celtin, German Arch-Humanist* (Harvard University Press, 1957).

University of Oklahoma

PERCY BUCHANAN guided a group of students on a trip to the Far East during the summer.

HERBERT J. ELLISON was awarded a grant by the Inter-University Committee on Travel for a trip of about one month to Russia and Eastern Europe during the summer.

GILBERT C. FITE has resigned as chairman to become a research professor, beginning with the 1958-59 academic year.

W. E. HOLLON has received a Fulbright fellowship and is on leave for work in Peru.

Southwestern Louisiana Institute

CARROLL C. GATES, of Louisiana State University, will be a visiting member of the staff during 1958-59.

VICTOR S. MAMATEY, of Florida State University, was a visiting professor during the past summer term.

ROY V. SCOTT, winner of the Everett E. Edwards Award for the best article submitted to *Agricultural History* during 1957, has taken a year's leave of absence to work on a history of the Great Northern Railway. He will be a research associate of Business History Foundation while on this project.

CHARLES S. STANSIFER, formerly of Tulane University, has been appointed an assistant professor.

HAROLD F. TAGGART, San Mateo College, was a member of the summer-session staff.

Texas Technological College

GEORGE HILTON JONES has joined the staff as an assistant professor.

University of Texas

WALTER PRESCOTT WEBB was one of ten recipients of special awards for distinguished scholarly accomplishment in the humanities and social sciences announced by the American Council of Learned Societies for 1958. The committee considering recommendations for this honor was composed of Whit-

ney J. Oates (classics) Princeton; Arthur E. Murphy (philosophy) University of Washington; and Gaines Post (history), University of Wisconsin. The award carries a stipend of \$10,000.

Sociology

Baylor University

CHARLES D. JOHNSON is director of the recently organized preprofessional social-work program. He will be assisted by an additional staff member.

CHARLES M. TOLBERT completed requirements for his doctorate at Louisiana State University during the year and the degree was conferred at the Spring commencement.

Colorado State College

LESLIE D. ZELENY is co-author, with Richard E. Gross, of Stanford, of *Educating Citizens for Democracy*, published in May by Oxford Press.

Louisiana State University

On April 28-29, 1958, the first annual "Louisiana Conference on the Aging" was held on the campus, sponsored jointly by the Louisiana Commission on the Aging and the Department of Sociology. Outstanding scholars in gerontology were brought to the campus, and PAUL H. PRICE served as director.

FREDERICK L. BATES has become a permanent member of the staff after serving during the past year as a visiting associate professor.

ALVIN L. BERTRAND, who has been on leave of absence to serve as head of the Levels of Living Section (Farm Population and Rural Life Branch, Agricultural Marketing Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington) for the last eighteen months, returned at the end of June.

AUDREY F. BORENSTEIN has been appointed instructor in sociology.

RUDOLF HEBERLE has been elected a member of the Executive Committee of the American Studies Association of the Lower Mississippi.

WALFRID J. JOKINEN has been appointed assistant dean of the Graduate School and assistant professor of sociology.

ROLAND J. PELLEGRIN has been appointed chairman of the Department of Sociology and head of the Department of Rural Sociology.

PAUL H. PRICE has been promoted to professor.

University of Missouri

The Conference on Asian Affairs will hold its annual meeting at the University of Missouri on Friday and Saturday, October 17-18. On Saturday morning the meeting will be held jointly with the Missouri Sociological Society.

IRMA BENDEL has been appointed to an instructorship.

MARY BOWMAN has become an instructor.

NOEL P. GIST is spending the 1958-59 academic year at the University of Groningen, the Netherlands, on a Fulbright lectureship.

ROBERT W. HABENSTEIN continued last summer as secretary to the national commission on mortuary education.

CHARLES S. HENDERSON, instructor, is spending the 1958-59 academic year in India on a Fulbright award. His particular research interest is the Anglo-Indian community.

C. T. PHILBLAD spent the first semester of the past year in Norway working on population research.

CASSIDY RIGGS has been appointed instructor for the academic year.

ROBERT F. G. SPIER was a member

of the summer staff of the University of Wisconsin.

University of New Mexico

EZRA GEDDES has resigned to accept employment with Systems Analysis Corporation, of Santa Monica, California.

Oklahoma State University

OTIS DURANT DUNCAN conducted a graduate seminar in rural sociology at the Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Illinois, during June and July.

ROBERT H. FOSEN has resigned to accept a position with the California Prison Reception and Classification System.

SOLOMON SUTKER was a visiting professor at Vanderbilt during the summer.

Southwestern Louisiana Institute

RUSSELL H. BOLYARD has retired from the staff and has accepted a position as executive secretary of the Louisiana Tuberculosis Association.

EDWARD KIBBE, formerly of Northwestern University, has been made an instructor.

Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College

DANIEL RUSSELL, rural sociologist here for thirty-two years, visited some twenty countries in Africa, Asia, and Europe during the summer as program officer for the International Volunteer Services, which sends teams of young agricultural graduates to underdeveloped areas to work on a person-to-person level in agricultural and community development programs.

Texas Technological College

EARL H. KOOS has resigned his position at Florida State University to join the staff as professor.

JULIUS RIVERA has been appointed to an assistant professorship.

MABEL B. SMITH, a member of the staff since 1946, has retired.

University of Texas

WARNER E. GETTYS, chairman of the Department of Sociology since its

founding, has retired from that position but will continue to teach.

HARRY E. MOORE is author of *Tornadoes over Texas*, published by the University of Texas Press as the first in a series of research monographs sponsored by the Hogg Foundation for Mental Health.



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